

# BEADLE'S

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### Life and Surprising Adventures OF ROBINSON CRUSOE.

BY DANIEL DEFOE.

I WAS born in the year 1632, in the city of York, of a good family, though not of that country, my father being a foreigner of Bremen, who settled first at Hull. He got a good estate by merchandise, and, leaving off his trade, lived afterward at York; from whence he had married my mother, whose relations were named *Robinson*, a very good family in that country and from whom I was called *Robinson Crusoe*; but, by the usual corruption of words in England, we are now called, nay, we call ourselves, and write our name, *Crusoe*; and so my companions always called me.

I had two elder brothers; one of whom was lieutenant-colonel to an English regiment of foot in Flanders, formerly commanded by the famous Colonel Lockhart, and was killed at the battle near Dunkirk against the Spaniards. What became of my second brother I never knew, any more than my father or mother did know what was become of me.

Being the third son of the family, and not bred to any trade, my head began to be filled very early with rambling thoughts. My father, who was very ancient, had given me a competent share of learning, as far as house education and a country free-school generally goes, and designed me for the law; but I would be satisfied with nothing but going to sea; and my inclination to this led me so strongly against the will, nay, commands of my father, and against all the entreaties and persuasions of my mother and other friends, that there seemed to be something fatal in that propensity of nature, tending directly to the life of misery which was to befall me.

My father, a wise and grave man, gave me serious and excellent counsel against what he foresaw was my design. He called me one morning into his chamber, where he was confined by the gout, and expostulated very warmly with me upon the subject. He asked me what reasons, more than a wandering inclination, I had for leaving my father's house and my native country, where I might be well introduced, and had a prospect of raising my fortune

by application and industry, with a life of ease and pleasure. He told me that it was men of desperate fortunes on one hand, or of aspiring superior fortunes on the other, who went abroad upon adventures to rise by enterprise, and make themselves famous in undertakings of a nature out of the common road; that these things were all too far above me, or too far below me, that mine was the middle state, or what might be called the upper station of *low life*, which he had found, by long experience, was the best in the world, the most suited to human happiness, not exposed to the miseries and hardships, the labor and sufferings of the mechanic, and not embarrassed with the pride, luxury, and envy of the upper part of

mankind. He told me I might judge of the happiness of this state by this one thing, viz.: that this was the state of life which all other people envied; that kings have frequently lamented the miserable consequences of being born to great things, and wished they had been placed in the middle of the two extremes, between the mean and the great; that the wise man gave his testimony to this, as the just standard of true felicity, when he prayed neither to have poverty nor riches. He bade me observe it, and I should always find that the calamities of life were shared among the upper and lower part of mankind; but that the middle stations had the fewest disasters, and were not exposed to so many vicissitudes as the

higher or lower part of mankind; nay, they were not subjected to so many distempers and uncasinesses either of body or mind, as those were who, by vicious living, luxury, and extravagances, on one hand, or by hard labor, want of necessities, and mean or insufficient diet, on the other hand, bring distempers upon themselves by the natural consequences of their way of living; that the middle station of life was calculated for all kind of virtues, and all kind of enjoyments; that peace and plenty were the handmaids of a middle fortune; that temperance, moderation, quietness, health, society, all agreeable diversions, and all desirable pleasures, were the blessings attending the middle station of life; that this way men went silently and smoothly through the world, and comfortably out of it; not embarrassed with the labors of the hands or of the head; not sold to the life of slavery for daily bread, or harassed with perplexed circumstances, which rob the soul of peace and the body of rest; not enraged with the passion of envy, or the secret burning lust of ambition for great things; but in easy circumstances, sliding gently through the world, and sensibly tasting the sweets of living without the bitter feeling that they are happy, and learning by every day's experience to know it more sensibly.

After this, he pressed me earnestly, and most affectionately, not to involve myself in miseries which nature, and the station of life I was born in, seemed to have provided against; that I was under no necessity of seeking my bread; that he would do well for me, and endeavor to enter me fairly into the station of life which he had just been recommending to me; and that if I were not very easy and happy in the world, it must be my mere fate or fault, that must hinder it; and that he should have nothing to answer for, having thus discharged his duty in warning me against mis-





ures which he knew would be to my hurt. In a word, that as he would do very kind things for me, if I would stay and settle at home as he directed, so he would not have so much hand in my misfortunes as to give me any encouragement to go away; and, to close all, he told me I had my elder brother for an example, to whom he had used the same earnest persuasions to keep him from going into the Low Country wars, but could not prevail, his young desires prompting him to run into the army, where he was killed; and though he said he would not cease to pray for me, yet he would venture to say to me, that if I did take this foolish step, God would not bless me; and I would have leisure hereafter to reflect upon having neglected his counsel, when there might be none to assist in my recovery.

I observed in this last part of discourse, which was truly prophetic, though I suppose my father did not know it to be so himself—I say, I observed the tears run down his face very plentifully, especially when he spoke of my brother who was killed, and that when he spoke of my having leisure to repent and none to assist me, he was so moved that he broke off the discourse, and told me his heart was so full he could say no more to me.

I was sincerely affected with this discourse, as, indeed, who could be otherwise? And I resolved not to think of going abroad any more, but to settle at home according to my father's desire. But, alas, a few days wore it all off; and, in short, to prevent any of my father's last importunities, in a few weeks I resolved to run quite away from him. However, I did not act so hastily, neither, as the first heat of my resolution prompted, but I took my mother at a time when I thought her a little pleasanter than ordinary, and told her that my thoughts were so entirely bent upon seeing the world, that I should never settle to any thing with resolution enough to go through with it, and my father had better give me his consent, than force me to go without it; that I was now eighteen years old, which was too late to go apprentice to a trade, or clerk to an attorney; that I was sure, if I did, I should never serve out my time, but I should certainly run away from my master before my time was out, and go to sea; and if she would speak to my father to let me go one voyage abroad, if I came home again, and did not like it, I would go no more, and I would promise, by a double diligence, to recover the time I had lost.

This put my mother into a great passion. She told me she knew it would be to no purpose to speak to my father upon any such subject; that he knew too well what was my interest to give his consent to anything so much for my hurt; and that she wondered how I could think of any such thing, after the discourse I had with my father, and such kind and tender expressions as she knew my father had used to me; and that, in short, if I would ruin myself, there was no help for me, but I might depend I should never have their consent to it; that, for her part, she would not have so much hand in my destruction, and I should never have it to say that my mother was willing when my father was not.

Though my mother refused to move it to my father, yet I heard afterwards that she reported all the discourse to him, and that my father, after showing a great concern at it, said to her, with a sigh: "That the boy might be happy, if he would stay at home; but if he goes abroad, he will be the most miserable wretch that ever was—I can give no consent to it."

It was not till almost a year after this that I broke loose, though in the mean time I continued obstinately deaf to all proposals of settling to business, and frequently expostulating with my father and mother about their being so positively determined against what they knew my inclination prompted me to. But being one day at home, whether I went casually, and without any purpose of making an elopement that time—but, I say, being there, and one of my companions being going by sea to London, in his father's ship, and prompting me to go with them, with the common allurements of a seafaring man, that it should cost me nothing for my passage, I consulted neither father nor mother any more, nor so much as sent them word of it; but leaving them to hear of it as they might, without asking God's blessing, or my father's, without any consideration of circumstances or consequences, and in an ill hour, God knows, on the first of September, 1681, I went on board a ship bound for London. Never any young adventurer's misfortunes, I believe, began sooner or continued longer than mine. The ship was no sooner got out of the Humber, but the wind began to blow and the sea to rise, in a most frightful manner; and as I had never been at sea before, I was most inexpressibly sick in body, and terrified in mind. I began now seriously to reflect upon what I had done, and how justly I was overtaken by the judgment of Heaven for my wickedness in leaving my father's house, and abandoning my duty. All the good counsel of my parents, my father's tears and my mother's entreaties, came now fresh into my mind; and my conscience, which was not yet come to the pitch of hardness to which it has been since, reproached me with the contempt of advice, and the breach of my duty to God and my father.

All this while the storm increased, and the sea went very high, though nothing like what I have seen many times since—no, not what I saw a few days after. But it was enough to affect me then, who was but a young sailor, and had never known anything of the matter. I expected every wave would have swallowed us up, and that every time the ship fell down, as I thought it did, in the trough or hollow of the sea, we should never rise more. In this agony of mind, I made many vows and resolutions, that if it pleased God to spare my life in this one voyage, if ever I got once my foot upon dry land again, I would go directly home to my father, and never set it into a ship again while I lived; that I would take his advice, and never run myself into such miseries as these any more. Now I saw plainly the goodness of his observations about the middle station of life, how easy, how comfortable he had lived all his days, and never been exposed to tempests at sea or troubles on shore; and, in short, I resolved that I would, like a true repenting prodigal, go home to my father.

These wise and sober thoughts continued all the while the storm continued, and indeed some time after; but the next day the wind was abated, and the sea calmer, and I began to be a little inured to it. However, I was very grave all that day, being also a little sea-sick still; but toward night the weather cleared up, the wind was quite over, and a charming fine evening followed; the sun went down perfectly clear, and rose so the next morning; and having little or no wind, and a smooth sea, the sun shining upon it, the sight was, as I thought, the most delightful that I ever saw.

I had slept well in the night, and was now no more sea-sick, but very cheerful, looking with wonder upon the sea, that was so rough and terrible the day before, and could be so calm and so pleasant in so little a time after.

And now, lest my resolution should continue, my companion, who had indeed enticed me away, comes to me.

"Well, Bob," says he, clapping me upon the shoulder,

"how do you do after it? I warrant you were frightened, wasn't you, last night, when it blew but a capful of wind?"

"A capital, do you call it?" said I. "Twas a terrible storm."

"A storm, you fool, you!" replies he. "Do you call that a storm? Why, it was nothing at all. Give us but a good ship and sea-room, and we think nothing of such a squall of wind as that. But you're but a fresh-water sailor, Bob. Come, let us make a bowl of punch, and we'll forget all that. D'you see what charming weather 'tis now?"

To make short this sad part of my story, we went the way of all sailors; the punch was made, and I was made half drunk with it, and in that one night's wickedness I drowned all my repentance, all my reflections upon my past conduct, and all my resolutions for the future. In a word, as the sea was returned to its smoothness of surface and settled calmness, by the abatement of that storm, so the hurry of my thoughts—being over, my fears and apprehensions of being swallowed up by the sea being forgotten, and the current of former desires returned, I entirely forgot the vows and promises that I made in my distress. I found, indeed, some intervals of reflection, and the serious thoughts did, as it were, endeavor to return again sometimes; but I shook them off, and roused myself from them, as it were from a distemper; and applying myself to drinking and company, soon mastered the return of those fits (for so I called them); and I had, in five or six days, got as complete a victory over conscience as any young fellow that resolved not to be troubled with it could desire. But I was to have another trial for it still: and Providence, as in such cases generally it does, resolved to leave me entirely without excuse; for if I would not take this for a deliverance, the next was to be such a one as the worst and most hardened wretch among us would confess both the danger and the mercy.

The sixth day of our being at sea, we came into Yarmouth Roads; the wind having been contrary, and the weather calm, we had made but little way since the storm. Here we were obliged to come to an anchor; and here we lay, the wind continuing contrary, viz. at south-west, for seven or eight days; during which time a great many ships from Newcastle came into the same roads, as the common harbor where the ships might wait for a wind for the river.

We had not, however, rid here so long, but we should have tided it up the river, but that the wind blew too fresh; and, after we had lain four or five days, blew very hard. However, the roads being reckoned as good as a harbor, the anchorage good, and our ground-tackle very strong, our men were unconcerned, and not in the least apprehensive of danger, but spent the time in rest and mirth, after the manner of the sea; but the eighth day in the morning the wind increased, and we had all hands at work to strike our topmasts, and make every thing snug and close, that the ship might ride as easy as possible. By noon, the sea went very high indeed, and our ship rode fore-castle in, shipped several seas, and we thought once or twice our anchor had come home; upon which our master ordered out the sheet anchor, so that we rode with two anchors ahead, and the cables veered out to the better end.

By this time it blew a terrible storm indeed; and now I began to see terror and amazement in the faces even of the seamen themselves. The master, though vigilant in the business of preserving the ship, yet, as he went in and out of his cabin by me, I could hear him, softly to himself, say several times: "Lord be merciful to us! We shall be all lost—we shall be all undone!" and the like. During these first hurries I was stupid, lying still in my cabin, which was in the steerage, and can not describe my temper. I could ill resume my first penitence, which I had so apparently trampled upon and hardened myself against. I thought the bitterness of death had been past, and that this would be nothing too, like the first. But when the master himself came by me, as I said just now, and said we should be all lost, I was dreadfully frightened. I got up out of my cabin and looked out; but such a dismal sight I never saw. The sea went mountains high, and broke upon us every three or four minutes. When I could look about, I could see nothing but distress around us. Two ships that rid near us, we found had cut their masts by the board, being deep laden; and our men cried out that a ship, which rid about a mile ahead of us, was foundered. Two more ships, being driven from their anchors, were run out of the roads to sea, at all adventures, and that not with a mast standing. The light ships fared the best, as not so much laboring in the sea; but two or three of them drove, and came close by us, running away, with only their sprit-ail out, before the wind.

Towards the evening, the mate and boatswain begged the master of our ship to let them cut away the foremast, which he was very unwilling to do; but the boatswain protesting to him, that if he did not, the ship would founder, he consented; and when they had cut away the foremast, the mainmast stood so loose, and shook the ship so much, they were obliged to cut that away also, and make a clear deck.

Any one may judge what a condition I must be in at all this, who was but a young sailor, and who had been in such a fright before at but a little. But, if I can express at this distance the thoughts I had about me at that

time, I was in tenfold more horror of mind upon account of my former convulsions, and the having returned from them to the resolutions I had wickedly taken at first, than I was at death itself; and these, added to the terror of the storm, put me into such a condition that I can by no words describe it. But the worst was not come yet; the storm continued with such fury, that the seamen themselves acknowledged they had never seen a worse. We had a good ship, but she was deep laden, and so swallowed in the sea, that the seamen every now and then cried out she would founder. It was my advantage in one respect, that I did not know what they meant by founder, till I inquired. However, the storm was so violent, that I saw what is not often seen, the master, the boatswain, and some others more sensible than the rest, at their prayers, and expecting every moment that the ship would go to the bottom. In the middle of the night, and under all the rest of our distresses, one of the men that had been down on purpose to see, cried out we had sprung a leak; another said, there were four feet water in the hold. Then all hands were called to the pump. At that very word my heart, as I thought, died within me; and I fell backward upon the side of the bed where I sat, in the cabin. However, the men roused me, and told me that I, that was able to do nothing before, was as well able to pump as another; at which I stirred up, and went to the pump, and worked very heartily. While this was doing, the master, who, seeing some light collars, which, not able to ride out the storm, were obliged to slip and run away to sea, and would come near us, ordered to fire a gun as a signal of distress. I, who knew nothing what that meant, was so surprised, that I thought the ship had broken, or some dreadful thing happened. In a word, I was so surprised that I fell down in a swoon. As this was a time when everybody had his own life to think of, nobody minded me, or what was become of me; but another man stepped up to the pump, and thrusting me aside with his foot, let me lie, thinking I had been dead; and it was a great while before I came to myself.

We worked on, but the water increasing in the hold, it was apparent that the ship would founder; and though the storm began to abate a little, yet as it was not possible she could swim till we might run into any port, so the master continued firing guns for help; and a light ship, who had rid it out just ahead of us, ventured a boat out to help us. It was with the utmost hazard the boat came near us; but it was impossible for us to get on board, or for the boat to lie near the ship-side, till at last the men rowing very heartily, and venturing their lives to save ours, our men cast them a rope over the stern with a buoy to it, and then veered it out a great length, which they, after much labor and hazard, took hold of; and we hauled them close under our stern, and got into their boat. It was to no purpose for them or us, after we were in the boat, to think of reaching to their own ship; so all agreed to let her drive, and only to pull her in towards shore as much as we could; and our master promised them, that if the boat was staved upon shore, he would make it good to their master. So partly rowing, and partly driving, our boat went away to the northward, sloping towards the shore almost as far as Winter towness.



We were not much more than a quarter of an hour out of our ship, but we saw her sink; and then I understood, for the first time, what was meant by a ship foundering in the sea. I must acknowledge, I had hardly eyes to look up, when the seamen told me she was sinking; for, from that moment, they rather put me into the boat, than that I might be said to go in; my heart was, as it were, dead within me, partly with fright, partly with horror of mind, and the thoughts of what was before me.

While we were in this condition, the men yet laboring at the oar to bring the boat near the shore, we could see (when our boat mounted the waves, we were able to see the shore) a great many people running along the strand to assist us when we should come near. But we made but slow way towards the shore, nor were we able to reach the shore, till, being past the light-house at Winterton, the shore falls off to the westward towards Cromer; and so the land broke off a little the violence of the wind. Here we got in; and, though not without much difficulty, got all safe on shore, and walked afterwards on foot to Yarmouth, where, as unfortunate men, we were used with great humanity, as well by the magistrates of the town, who assigned us good quarters, as by particular merchants and owners of ships; and had money given us sufficient to carry us either to London, or back to Hull, as we thought fit.

Had I now had the sense to have gone back to Hull, and have gone home, I had been happy, and my father, an emblem of our blessed Saviour's parable, had even killed the fatted calf for me; for, hearing the ship I went away in was cast away in Yarmouth Roads, it was a great while before he had any assurances that I was not drowned.



But my ill fate pushed me on now with an obstinacy that nothing could resist; and though I had several times loud calls from my reason, and my more composed judgment, to go home, yet I had no power to do it. I know not what to call this; nor will I urge, that it is a secret overruling decree, that hurries us on to be the instruments of our own destruction, even though it be before us, and that we rush upon it with our eyes open. Certainly, nothing but some such decreed unavoidable misery attending, and which it was impossible for me to escape, could have pushed me forward against the calm reasoning and persuasions of my most retired thoughts, and against two such visible instructions as I had met with in my first attempt.

My comrade, who had helped to harden me before, and who was the master's son, was now less forward than I. The first time he spoke to me after we were at Yarmouth, which was not till two or three days, for we were separated in the town to several quarters; I say, the first time he saw me, it appeared his tone was altered; and, looking very melancholy, and shaking his head, asked me how I did; and telling his father who I was, and how I had come this voyage only for a trial, in order to go further abroad; his father, turning to me with a very grave and concerned tone:

"Young man," says he, "you ought never to go to sea any more; you ought to take this for a plain and visible token that you are not to be a seafaring man."

"Why, sir," said I, "will you go to sea no more?" "That is another case," said he; "it is my calling, and, therefore, my duty; but, as you made this voyage for a trial, you see what a taste Heaven has given you of what you are to expect if you persist: perhaps all this has befallen us on your account, like Jonah, in the ship of Tarshish. Pray," continued he, "what are you? and on what account did you go to sea?"

Upon that I told him some of my story; at the end of which he burst out with a strange kind of passion. "What had I done," says he, "that such an unhappy wretch should come into my ship? I would not set my foot in the same ship with thee again for a thousand pounds."

This indeed was, as I said, an excursion of his spirits, which were yet agitated by the sense of his loss, and was farther than he could have authority to go. However, he afterwards talked very gravely to me, exhorting me to go back to my father, and not tempt Providence to my ruin; told me I might see the visible hand of Heaven against me:

"And, young man," said he, "depend upon it, if you do not go back wherever you go, you will meet with nothing but disasters and disappointments, till your father's words are fulfilled upon you."

We parted soon after; for I made him little answer, and I saw him no more: which way he went, I know not. As for me, having some money in my pocket, I traveled to London by land; and there, as well as on the road, had many struggles with myself, what course of life I should take, and whether I should go home, or go to sea.

As to going home, shame opposed the best motions that offered to my thoughts; and it immediately occurred to me how I should be laughed at among the neighbors, and should be ashamed to see, not my father and mother only, but even everybody else. From whence I have since observed how incongruous and irrational the common temper of mankind is, especially of youth, to that reason that ought to guide them in such cases, viz.: that they are not ashamed to sin, and yet are ashamed to repent! not ashamed of the actions for which they ought justly to be esteemed fools, but are ashamed of the returning, which only can make them esteemed wise men.

In this state of life, however, I remained some time, uncertain what measures to take, and what course of life to lead. An irresistible reluctance continued to going home; and, as I stayed awhile, the remembrance of the distress I had been in wore off; and as that abated, the little motion I had in my desires wore off with it, till at last I quite laid aside the thoughts of it, and looked out for a voyage.

That evil influence which carried me first away from my father's house, which hurried me into the wild and indigestion notion of raising my fortune, and that impressed those conceits so forcibly upon me, as to make me deaf to all good advice, and to the entreaties and even the commands of my father; I say, the same influence, whatever it was, presented the most unfortunate of all enterprises to my view; and I went on board a vessel bound to the coast of Africa, or, as our sailors vulgarly call it, a voyage to Guinea.

It was my great misfortune, that in all these adventures, I did not ship myself as a sailor: whereby, though I might indeed have worked a little harder than ordinary, yet at the same time I had learned the duty and office of a foremast man, and in time might have qualified myself for mate or lieutenant, if not for a master. But as it was always my fate to choose for the worse, so I did here; for, having money in my pocket, and good clothes to my back, I would always go on board in the habit of a gentleman; and so I neither had any business in the ship, nor learned to do any.

It was my lot first of all to fall into pretty good company in London, which does not always happen to such loose and ungoverned young fellows as I then was; the devil not omitting to lay some snare for them very early; but it was not so with me. I first fell acquainted with the master of the ship, who had been on the coast of Guinea, and who, having very good success there, was resolved to go again. This captain, taking a fancy to my conversation, which was not disagreeable at that time, hearing me say I had a mind to see the world, told me, if I would go the voyage with him, I should be at no expense; I should be his messmate and his companion; and if I could carry anything with me, I should have all the advantage of it that the trade would admit; and perhaps I might meet with some encouragement.

I embraced the offer, and entering into a strict friendship with this captain, who was an honest, plain-dealing man, went the voyage with him; and carried a small adventure with me, which, by the disinterested honesty of my friend, the captain, I increased very considerably; for

I carried about £40, in such trifles as the captain directed me to buy. This £40 I had mastered together by the assistance of some of my relations whom I corresponded with, and who, I believe, got my father, or, at least, my mother, to contribute so much as that to my first adventure.

This was the only voyage which I may say was successful in all my adventures, and which I owe to the integrity and honesty of my friend, the captain; and whom I also got a competent knowledge of the mathematics, and the rules of navigation; learned how to keep an account of the ship's course, take an observation, and, in short, to understand some things that were needful to be understood by a sailor; for, as he took delight to instruct me, I took delight to learn; and, in a word, this voyage made me both a sailor and a merchant; for I brought home five pounds nine ounces of gold dust for my adventure, which yielded me in London, at my return, almost £800; and this filled me with those aspiring thoughts which have since so completed my ruin.

Yet, even in this voyage, I had my misfortunes, too; particularly that I was continually sick, being thrown into a violent calenture by the excessive heat of the climate, our principal trading being upon the coast, from the latitude of 15 degrees N., even to the line itself.

I was now set up for a Guinea trader; and my friend, to my great misfortune, dying soon after his arrival, I resolved to get the same voyage again; and I embarked in the same vessel with one who was his mate in the former voyage, and had now got the command of the ship. This was the unhappy voyage that ever man made; for though I did not carry quite £100 of my new-gained wealth, so that I had £300 left, and which I lodged with my friend's widow, who was very just to me, yet I fell into terrible misfortunes in this voyage; and the first was this, viz.: our ship, making her course towards the Canary Islands, or rather between those islands and the African shore, was surprised in the gray of the morning by a Moorish rover of Salée, who gave chase to us with all the sail she could make. We crowded also as much canvas as our yards would spread, or our masts carry, to have got clear; but, finding the pirate gained upon us, and would certainly come up with us in a few hours, we prepared to fight; our ship having twelve guns, and the rover eighteen. About three in the afternoon he came up with us, and, bringing to, by mistake, just astwart our quarter, instead of astwart our stern, as he intended, we brought eight of our guns to bear on that side, and poured in a broadside upon him, which made him sheer off again, after returning our fire, and pouring in also his small shot from near two hundred men which he had on board. However, we had not a man touched, all our men keeping close. He prepared to attack us again, and we to defend ourselves; but, laying us on board the next time upon the other quarter, he entered ninety men upon our decks, who immediately fell to cutting and hacking the decks and rigging. We pilled them with small shot, half-pikes, powder-chests, and such like, and cleared our decks of them twice. However, to cut short this melancholy part of our story, our ship being disabled, and three of our men killed, and eight wounded, we were obliged to yield; and were carried all prisoners into Salée, a port belonging to the Moors.

The usage I had there was not so dreadful as at first I apprehended; nor was I carried up the country, to the emperor's court, as the rest of our men were, but was kept by the captain of the rover as his proper prize, and made his slave, being young and nimble, and fit for his business. At this surprising change of my circumstances, from a merchant to a miserable slave, I was perfectly overwhelmed; and now I looked back upon my father's prophetic discourse to me, that I should be miserable, and have none to relieve me, which I thought was now so effectually brought to pass, that I could not be worse; that now the hand of Heaven had overtaken me, and I was undone without redemption. But alas! this was but a taste of the misery I was to go through, as will appear in the sequel of this story.

As my new patron or master had taken me home to his house, so I was a hopes that he would take me with him when he went to sea again, believing that it would be some time or other his fate to be taken by a Spanish or Portuguese man of war; and that then I should be set at liberty. But this hope of mine was soon taken away; for when he went to sea, he left me on shore to look after his little garden, and do the common drudgery of slaves about his house; and when he came home again from his cruise, he ordered me to lie in the cabin, to look after the ship.

We were frequently out with this boat a-fishing; and as I was most dexterous to catch fish for him, he never went without me. It happened one day, after I had been with him about two years, that he had appointed to go out in this boat, either for pleasure or for fish, with two or three Moors of some distinction, and for whom he had provided extraordinarily, and had therefore sent on board the boat over night a larger store of provisions than usual; and had ordered me to get ready three fowls with powder and shot, which were on board his ship; for that they designed some sport of fowling as well as fishing.

I got all things ready, as he had directed; and waited the next morning with the boat washed clean, her ancient and pendant out, and everything to accommodate his guests; when, by and by, my patron came on board alone, and told me his guests had put off going, upon some business that fell out, and ordered me with the man and boy, as usual, to go out with the boat, and catch them some fish, for that his friends were to sup at his house. He commanded me too, that as soon as I had got some fish, I should bring it. All which I prepared to do.

This moment my former notions of deliverance darted into my thoughts, for now I found I was like to have a little ship at my command; and my master being gone, I prepared to furnish myself, not for fishing, but for a voyage; though I knew not, neither did I so much as consider, whither I would steer; for anywhere to get out of that place was my way.

My first contrivance was to make a pretence to speak to this Moor, to get something for our subsistence on

board; for I told him we must not presume to eat or drink our patron's bread. He said that was true; so he brought a large basket of rusk or biscuit, of their kind, and three jars with fresh water, into the boat.

I knew where my patron's case of bottles stood, which it was evident by the make, were taken out of some English prize, and I conveyed them into the boat, while the Moor was on shore, as if they had been there before for our master. I conveyed also a great lump of beeswax into the boat, which weighed about a half a hundred weight, with a parcel of twine or thread, a hatchet, a saw, and a hammer, all of which were of great use to us afterwards—especially the wax to make candles. Another trick I tried upon him, which he innocently came into also. His name was Ishmael, whom they called Muley, or Moley. His name I called to him: "Moley," said I, "our patron's guns are all on board the boat. Can you not get a little powder and shot? It may be we may kill some alconies (a fowl like our curlews) for ourselves, for I know he keeps the gunner's stores in the ship." "Yes," says he, "I'll bring some." Accordingly, he brought a leather pouch, which held about a pound and a half of powder, or rather more; and another with shot, that had five or six pounds, with some bullets, and put all into the boat. At the same time I had found some powder of my master's in the great cabin, with which I filled one of the large bottles in the case, which was almost empty, pouring what was in it into another; and thus furnished with everything needful, we sailed out of the port to fish. The castle, which is at the entrance of the port, knew who we were, and took no notice of us; and we were not above a mile out of the port, before we hauled in our sail, and sat us down to fish. The wind blew from the N. N. E., which was contrary to my desire; for had it blown southerly, I had been sure to have made the coast of Spain, and at least reached to the bay of Cadiz; but my resolutions were, blow which way it would, I would be gone from that horrid place where I was, and leave the rest to fate.

After we had fished some time, and caught nothing (for when I had fish on my hook, I would not pull them up, that he might not see them), I said to the Moor: "This will not do; our master will not be thus served. We must stand farther off." He, thinking no harm, agreed; and being in the head of the boat, set the sails, and, as I had the helm, I run the boat out near a league farther, and then brought her to, as if I would fish; when, giving the boy the helm, I stepped forward to where the Moor was, and making as if I stooped for something behind him, I took him by surprise with my arm under his twist, and tossed him clear overboard into the sea. He rose immediately, for he swam like a cork, and called to me, begged to be taken in, told me he would go all over the world with me. He swam so strong after the boat, that he would have reached me very quickly, there being but little wind; upon which I stepped into the cabin, and fetching one of the fowling pieces, I presented it at him, and told him I had done him no hurt, and if he would be quiet, I would do him none. "But," said I, "you swim well enough to reach the shore, and the sea is calm; make the best of your way to shore, and I will do you no harm; but if you come near the boat, I'll shoot you through the head, for I am resolved to have my liberty." So he turned himself about, and swam for the shore, and I make no doubt but he reached it with ease, for he was an excellent swimmer.

I could have been content to have taken this Moor with me, and have drowned the boy, but there was no venturing to trust him. When he was gone, I turned to the boy, whom they called Xury, and said to him: "Xury, if you will be faithful to me, I'll make you a great man; but if you will not stroke your face to be true to me," that is, swear by Mahomet, and his father's beard, "I must throw you into the sea too." The boy smiled in my face, and spoke so innocently, that I could not mistrust him; and swore to be faithful to me, and go all over the world with me.

While I was in view of the Moor that was swimming, I stood out directly to sea with the boat, rather stretching to windward, that they might think me gone towards the Strait's mouth (as indeed any one that had been in their wits must have been supposed to do); for who would have supposed we were sailed on to the southward, to the truly Barbarian coast, where whole nations of Negroes were sure to surround us with their canoes, and destroy us; where we could never once go on shore, but we should be devoured by savage beasts, or more merciless savages of human kind?

But, as soon as it grew dark in the evening, I changed my course, and steered directly south and by east, bending my course a little towards the east, that I might keep in with the shore; and having a fair fresh gale of wind, and a smooth quiet sea, I made such sail, that I believe, by the next day at three o'clock in the afternoon, when I first made the land, I could not be less than 150 miles south of Salée, quite beyond the emperor of Morocco's dominions, or indeed of any other king thereabouts, for we saw no such people.

Yet such was the fright I had taken at the Moors, and the dreadful apprehensions I had of falling into their hands, that I would not stop, or go on shore, or come to an anchor, the wind continuing fair, till I had sailed in that manner five days; and then the wind shifting to the southward, I concluded also, that if any of our vessels were in chase after me, they also would now give over; so I ventured to make to the coast, and came to an anchor in the mouth of a little river, I knew not what or where, neither what latitude, what country, what nation, or what river. I neither saw nor desired to see any people; the principal thing I wanted was fresh water. We came into this creek in the evening, resolving to swim on shore as soon as it was dark, and discover the country; but as soon as it was quite dark, we heard such dreadful noises of the barking, roaring, and howling of wild creatures, of we knew not what kinds, and the poor boy was ready to die with fear, and begged of me not to go on shore till day. "Well, Xury," said I, "then I won't; but it may be we may see men by day who will be as bad to us as those lions." "Then we may give them the shoot gun," says Xury, laughing; "make them run way." Such English Xury spoke by conversing among us slaves. However, I



was glad to see the boy so cheerful, and I gave him a dram (out of our patron's case of bottles) to cheer him up. After all, Xury's advice was good, and I took it. We dropped our little anchor, and lay still all night; I say still, for we slept none; for in two or three hours we saw vast great creatures, we knew not what to call them, of many sorts, come down to the sea-shore, and run into the water, wallowing and washing themselves for the pleasure of cooling themselves; and they made such hideous howlings and yellings, that I never heard the like.

Xury was dreadfully frightened, and indeed so was I, too; but we were both worse frightened when we heard one of the mighty creatures come swimming towards our boat; we could not see him, but we might hear him by his blowing to be a monstrous huge and furious beast. Xury said it was a lion, and that it might be for aught I know. Poor Xury cried out to me to weigh the anchor, and row away. "No," says I, "Xury, we can slip our cable with a buoy to it, and go to sea: they can not follow us far." I had no sooner said so, but I perceived the creature (whatever it was) within two oar's length, which something surprised me. However, I immediately stepped to the cabin door, and taking up my gun, fired at him, upon which he immediately turned about, and swam towards the shore again.



But it was not possible to describe the horrible noises and hideous cries and howlings that were raised, as well upon the edge of the shore as higher within the country, upon the noise or report of a gun; a thing, I have some reason to believe, these creatures had never heard before. This convinced me that there was no going on shore for us in the night upon that coast, and how to venture on shore in the day, was another question, too; for to have fallen into the hands of any of the savages, had been as bad as to have fallen into the paws of lions and tigers—at least we were equally apprehensive of the danger of it.

Be that as it would, we were obliged to go on shore somewhere or other for water, for we had not a pint in the boat; when or where to get it was the point. Xury said if I would let him go on shore with one of the jars, he would find if there was any water, and bring some to me. I asked him why he would go, why I should not go, and he stay in the boat. The boy answered with so much affection that made me love him ever after. Says he: "If wild man come, they eat me; you go way." "Well, Xury," said I, "we will both go, and if the wild man come, we will kill them; they shall eat neither of us." So I gave Xury a piece of rusk-bread to eat, and a dram out of our patron's case of bottles, which I mentioned before, and we hauled the boat in as near the shore as we thought was proper, and waded on shore, carrying nothing but our arms, and two jars for water.

I did not care to go out of sight of the boat, fearing the coming of canoes with savages down the river; but the boy seeing a low place, about a mile up the country, rambling to it, and by and by I saw him come running towards me. I thought he was pursued by some savage, or frightened with some wild beast, and I ran forward towards him to help him; but when I came nearer to him, I saw something hanging over his shoulders, which was a creature that he had shot, like a hare, but different in color, and longer legs. However, we were very glad of it, and it was very good meat; but the great joy that poor Xury came with, was to tell me he had found good water, and seen no wild man.

But we found afterwards that we need not take such pains for water, for a little higher up the creek where we were, we found the water fresh when the tide was out, which flows but a little way up. So we filled our jars, and feasted on the hare we had killed, and prepared to go on our way, having seen no footsteps of any human creature in that part of the country.

As I had been one voyage to this coast before, I knew very well that the islands of the Canaries, and the Cape de Verd islands also, lay not far off from the coast. But as I had no instruments to take an observation to know what latitude we were in, and did not exactly know, or at least not remember what latitude they were in, I knew not where to look for them, or when to stand off to sea towards them, otherwise I might now easily have found some of these islands. But my hope was, that if I stood along this coast till I came to that part where the English traded, I should find some of their vessels upon their usual design of trade, that would relieve and take us in.

By the best of my calculation, that place where I now was must be that country which, lying between the emperor of Morocco's dominions and the Negroes, lies waste and uninhabited, except by wild beasts, the Negroes having abandoned it, and gone farther south, for fear of the Moors; and the Moors not thinking it worth inhabiting, by reason of its barrenness, and indeed both forsaking it because of the prodigious numbers of tigers, lions, leopards, and other furious creatures which harbor there, so that the Moors use it for their hunting only, where they go like an army, two or three thousand men at a time; and indeed for near a hundred miles together upon this

coast, we saw nothing but a waste, uninhabited country by day, and heard nothing but howlings and roarings of wild beasts by night.

Once or twice in the daytime, I thought I saw the Pico of Teneriffe, being the high top of the mountain Teneriffe in the Canaries, and had a great mind to venture out in hopes of reaching thither; but having tried twice, I was forced in again by contrary winds, the sea also going too high for my little vessel; so I resolved to pursue my first design, and keep along the shore.

Several times we were obliged to land for fresh water, after we had left this place; and once in particular, being early in the morning, we came to an anchor under a little point of water, which was pretty high, and the tide beginning to flow, we lay still to go farther in. Xury, whose eyes were more about him than it seems mine were, calls softly to me, and tells me that we had best go farther off the shore. "For," says he, "look, yonder lies a dreadful monster on the side of that hillock, fast asleep." I looked where he pointed, and saw a dreadful monster indeed; for it was a terrible great lion, that lay on the side of the shore, under the shade of a piece of the hill, that hung, as it were, a little over him. "Xury," said I, "you shall go on shore and kill him." Xury look frightened, and said: "He kill! He eat me at one mouth!" One mouthful he meant. However, I said no more to the boy, but bade him be still, and took our biggest gun, which was almost musket-bore, and loaded it with a good charge of powder, and with two slugs, and laid it down; then I loaded another gun with two bullets, and the third (for we had three pieces) I loaded with five smaller bullets. I took the best aim I could with the first piece, to have shot him into the head; but he lay so with his leg raised a little above his nose, that the slug hit his leg about the knee, and broke the bone. He started up growling at first, but finding his leg broke, fell down again, and then got upon three legs, and gave the most hideous roar that ever I heard. I was a little surprised that I had not hit him on the head; however, I took up the second piece immediately; and, though he began to move off, fired again, and shot him in the head, and had the pleasure to see him drop, and making but little noise, he lay struggling for life. Then Xury took heart, and would let me have him go on shore. "Well, go," said I. So the boy jumped into the water, and taking a little gun in one hand, swam to shore with the other hand, and coming close to the creature, put the muzzle of the piece to his ear, and shot him in the head again, which dispatched him quite.

This was game indeed to us, but this was no food; and I was very sorry to lose three charges of powder and shot, upon a creature that was good for nothing to us. However, Xury said he would have some of him; so he comes on board, and asked me to give him the hatchet. "For what, Xury?" said I. "Me cut off his head," said he. However, Xury could not cut off his head; but he cut off a foot, and brought it with him, and it was a monstrous great one.

I bethought myself, however, that perhaps the skin of him might one way or other be of some value to us; and I resolved to take off the skin if I could. So Xury and I went to work with him, but Xury was much the better workman at it, for I knew very ill how to do it. Indeed, it took us up the whole day; but at last we got off the hide of him, and, spreading it on the top of our cabin, the sun effectually dried it in two days' time, and it afterwards served me to lie upon.

After this stop, we made on to the southward continually, for ten or twelve days, living very sparingly on our provisions, which began to abate very much, and going no oftener in to the shore than we were obliged to for fresh water. My design in this was to make the river Gambia or Senegal, that is to say, anywhere about the Cape de Verd, where I was in hopes to meet with some European ship, and if I did not, I knew not what course I had to take, but to seek for the islands, or perish there among the Negroes. I knew that all the ships from Europe, which sailed either to the coast of Guinea, or to Brazil, or to the East Indies, made this cape or those islands, and, in a word, I put the whole of my fortune upon this single point, either that I must meet with some ship or must perish.

When I had pursued this resolution about ten days longer, as I have said, I began to see that the land was inhabited; and in two or three places, as we sailed by, we saw people stand upon the shore to look at us; we could also perceive they were quite black, and stark naked. I was once inclined to have gone on shore to them, but Xury was my better counsellor, and said to me: "No go, no go." However, I hauled in nearer the shore, that I might talk to them, and I found they ran along the shore by me a good way. I observed they had no weapons in their hands, except one, who had a long slender stick, which Xury said was a lance, and that they would throw them a great way with good aim; so I kept at a distance but talked with them by signs as well as I could, and particularly made signs for something to eat. They beckoned to me to stop my boat, and they would fetch me some meat.

We made signs of thanks to them, for we had nothing to make them amends; but an opportunity offered that instant to oblige them wonderfully; for while we were lying by the shore, came two mighty creatures, one pursuing the other (as we took it) with great fury, from the mountains towards the sea; at last one of them began to come nearer our boat than at first I expected; but I lay ready for him, for I had loaded my gun with all possible expedition, and bade Xury load both the others. As soon as he came fairly within my reach, I fired, and shot him directly into the head. Immediately he sunk down into the water, but he rose instantly, and plunged up and down as if he was struggling for life; and so indeed he was. He immediately made to the shore; but, between the wound, which was his mortal hurt, and the strangling of the water, he died just before he reached the shore.

It is impossible to express the astonishment of these poor creatures at the noise and fire of my gun; some of them were ready even to die for fear, and fell down as dead with the very terror. But when they saw the creature dead, and sunk in the water, and that I made signs to them to come to the shore, they took heart and came to the shore, and began to search for the creature. I

found him by his blood staining the water, and by the help of a rope, which I flung round him, and gave the Negroes to haul, they dragged him on shore, and found that it was a most curious leopard, spotted and fine to an admirable degree; and the Negroes held up their hands with admiration, to think what it was I killed him with.

The other creature, frightened with the flash of fire, and the noise of the gun, swam to the shore, and ran up directly to the mountains from whence they came; for could I, at that distance, know what it was. I found quickly the Negroes were for eating the flesh of this creature, so I was willing to have them take it as a favor from me, which, when I made signs to them that they might take him, they were very thankful for. Immediately they fell to work with them; and though they had no knife, yet, with a sharpened piece of wood, they took off his skin as readily—nay, much more readily—than we would have done with a knife. They offered me some of the flesh, which I declined, making as if I would give it them; but made signs for the skin, which they gave me very freely, and brought me a great deal more of their provisions, which, though I did not understand, yet I accepted. Then I made signs to them for some water, and held out one of my jars to them, turning its bottom upward, to show that it was empty, and that I wanted to have it filled. They called immediately to some of their friends, and there came two women, and brought a great vessel, made of earth, and burnt, as I suppose, in the sun; this they set down for me, as before, and I sent Xury on shore with my jars, and filled them all three. The women were as stark naked as the men.

I was now furnished with roots and corn, such as it was, and water; and, leaving my friendly Negroes, I made forward about eleven days more, without offering to go near the shore, till I saw the land run out a great length into the sea, at about the distance of four or five leagues before me, and, the sea being very calm, I kept a large offing to make this point; at length, doubling the point at about two leagues from the land, I saw plainly land on the other side, to seaward; then I concluded—as it was most certain, indeed—that this was the Cape de Verd, and these the islands, called from thence Cape de Verd islands. However, they were at a great distance, and I could not tell what I had best to do; for if I should be taken with a fresh wind, I might neither reach one nor other.

In this dilemma, as I was very pensive, I stepped into the cabin, and sat me down, Xury having the helm, when, on a sudden, the boy cried out: "Master, master, a ship with a sail!" and the foolish boy was frightened out of his wits, thinking it must needs be some of his master's ships sent to pursue us, when I knew we were gotten far enough out of their reach. I jumped out of the cabin, and immediately saw, not only the ship, but what she was, viz.: that it was a Portuguese ship, and, as I thought, was bound to the coast of Guinea for Negroes. But, when I observed the course she steered, I was soon convinced they were bound some other way, and did not design to go any nearer to the shore, upon which I stretched out to sea as much as I could, resolving to speak with them, if possible.

With all the sail I could make, I found I should not be able to come in their way, but that they would be gone by before I could make any signal to them; but after I had crowded to the utmost, and began to despair, they, it seems, saw me by the help of their perspective glasses, and that it was some European boat, which they supposed must belong to some ship that was lost; so they shortened sail to let me come up. I was encouraged with this, and as I had my patron's ancient on board, I made a waft of it to them for a signal of distress, and fired a gun, both of which they saw; for they told me they saw the smoke, though they did not hear the gun. Upon these signals, they very kindly brought to, and lay by for me; and in about three hours' time I came up with them.

They asked me what I was, in Portuguese, and in Spanish, and in French; but I understood none of them; but at last a Scots sailor, who was on board, called to me, and I answered him, and told him I was an Englishman, that I had made my escape out of slavery from the Moors, at Salice. Then they bade me come on board, and very kindly took me in, and all my goods.

It was an inexpressible joy to me, as any one will believe, that I was thus delivered, as I esteemed it, from such a miserable and almost hopeless condition as I was in. I immediately offered all I had to the captain of the ship, as a return for my deliverance; but he generously told me he would take nothing from me, but that all I had should be delivered safe to me when I came to the Brazils. "For," says he, "I have saved your life on no other terms than as I would be glad to be saved myself; and it may, one time or other, be my lot to be taken up in the same condition. Besides," says he, "when I carry you to the Brazils, so great a way from your own country, if I should take from you what little you have, you will be starved there, and then I only take away that life I have given. No, no," says he, "Signor Ingles (Mr. Englishman), I will carry you thither in charity, and these things will help you to buy your subsistence there, and your passage home again."

As he was charitable in this proposal, so he was just in the performance to a title: for he ordered the seamen that none should offer to touch anything I had; then he took everything into his own possession, and gave me back an exact inventory of them, that I might have them again, even so much as my three earthen jars.

As to my boat, it was a very good one, and that he saw, and told me he would buy it of me for the ship's use, and asked me what I would have for it. I told him he had been so generous to me in everything, that I could not offer to make any price of the boat, but left it entirely to him; upon which he told me he would give me a note of his hand to pay me 50 pieces of eight for it at Brazil, and when it came there, if any one offered to give more, he would make it up. He offered me also 60 pieces of eight more for my boy, Xury, which I was loath to take; not that I was not willing to let the captain have him, but I was very loath to sell the poor boy's liberty, who had assisted me so faithfully in procuring my own. However, when I let him know my reason, he owned it to be just,



and offered me this medium, that he would give the boy an obligation to set him free in ten years, if he turned Christian. Upon this, Xury saying he was willing to go to him, I let the captain have him.

We had a very good voyage to the Brazils, and arrived in the Bay de Todos os Santos, or all Saints' Bay, in about twenty-two days after. And now I was once more delivered from the most miserable of all conditions of life; and what to do next with myself, I was to consider.

The generous treatment the captain gave me I can never enough remember; he would take nothing of me for my passage, gave me 20 ducats for the leopard's skin, and 40 for the lion's skin, which I had in the boat, and caused everything I had in the ship to be punctually delivered to me; and what I was willing to sell he bought, such as the case of bottles, two of my guns, and a piece of the lump of bees'-wax, for I had made candles of the rest: in a word, I made about 220 pieces of eight of my cargo; and with this stock I went on shore in the Brazils.

I had not been long here, but, being recommended to the house of a good, honest man, like himself, who had an ingenio, as they call it—that is, a plantation and a sugar-house—I lived with him some time, and acquainted myself, by that means, with the manner of their planting and making of sugar; and, seeing how well the planters lived, and how they grew rich suddenly, I resolved, if I could get license to settle there, I would turn planter among them; resolving, in the meantime, to find out some way to get my money which I had left in London remitted to me. To this purpose, getting a kind of letter of naturalization, I purchased as much land that was uncultivated as my money would reach, and formed a plan for my plantation and settlement, and such a one as might be suitable to the stock which I proposed to myself to receive from England.

I had a neighbor, a Portuguese of Lisbon, but born of English parents, whose name was Wells, and in much such circumstances as I was. I call him neighbor, because his plantation lay next to mine, and we went on very sociably together; my stock was but low, as well as his, and we rather planted for food than anything else, for about two years. However, we began to increase, and our land began to come into order, so that the third year we planted some tobacco, and made each of us a large piece of ground ready for planting canes in the year to come: but we both wanted help; and now I found, more than before, I had done wrong in parting with my boy Xury.

But, alas! for me to do wrong, that never did right, was no great wonder. I had no remedy but to go on. I had gotten into an employment quite remote to my genius, and directly contrary to the life I delighted in, and for which I forsook my father's house, and broke through all his good advice; nay, I was coming into the very middle station, or upper degree of low life, which my father advised me to before, and which, if I resolved to go on with, I might as well have staid at home, and never fatigued myself in the world, as I have done; and I used often to say to myself, I could have done this as well in England, among my friends, as have gone 5,000 miles off to do it, among strangers and savages in a wilderness, and at such a distance as never to hear from any part of the world that had the least knowledge of me.

In this manner I used to look upon my condition with the utmost regret. I had nobody to converse with, but now and then this neighbor; no work to be done, but by the labor of my hands; and I used to say, I live just like a man cast away upon some desolate island, that had nobody there but himself. But how just has it been, and how should all men reflect, that when they compare their present condition with others that are worse, Heaven may oblige them to make the exchange, and be convinced of their former felicity, by their experience! I say, how just has it been, that the truly solitary life I reflected on in an island of mere desolation should be my lot, who had so often justly compared it with the life which I then led; in which, had I continued, I had, in all probability, been exceedingly prosperous and rich!

I was in some degree settled in my measures for carrying on the plantation, before my kind friend, the captain of the ship that took me up at sea, went back; for the ship remained there, in providing her loading, and preparing for her voyage, near three months; when telling him what little stock I had left behind me in London, he gave me his friendly and sincere advice: "Signor Ingles," says he, (for so he always called me), "if you will give me letters, and a procuration here in form to me, with orders to the person who has your money in London, to send your effects to Lisbon, to such persons as I shall direct, and in such goods as are proper for this country, I will bring you the produce of them, God willing, at my return; but, since human affairs are all subject to changes and disasters, I would have you give orders for £100 sterling, which, you say, is half your stock, and let the hazard be run for the first; so that if it comes safe, you may order the rest in the same way; and if it miscarry, you have the other half to have recourse to for your supply."

This was such wholesome advice, and looked so friendly, that I could not but be convinced 'twas the best course I could take; so I accordingly prepared letters to the gentleman with whom I had left my money, and a procuration to the Portuguese captain, as he desired.

I wrote the English captain's widow a full account of all my adventures, my slavery, escape, and how I had met with the Portuguese captain at sea, the humanity of his behavior, and what condition I was now in, with all other necessary directions for my supply; and when this honest captain came to Lisbon, he found means, by some of the English merchants there, to send over, not the order only, but a full account of my story, to a merchant in London, who presented it effectually to her; whereupon she not only delivered the money, but out of her own pocket sent the Portuguese captain a very handsome present for his humanity and charity to me.

The merchant in London vested this £100 in English goods, such as the captain had written for, sent them directly to him at Lisbon, and he brought them all safe to me at the Brazils: among which, without my directions,

(for I was too young to my business to think of them,) he had taken care to have all sorts of tools, iron-work, and utensils necessary for my plantation, and which were of great use to me.

When this cargo arrived, I thought my fortune made. I was surprised with the joy of it; and my good steward, the captain, had laid out the £5 which my friend had sent him for a present for himself, to purchase and bring me over a servant, under bond for six years' service, and would not accept of any consideration, except a little tobacco, which I would have him accept, being of my own produce.

Neither was this all; but my goods being all English manufactures, such as cloth, stuff, balze and things particularly valuable and desirable in the country, I found means to sell them to a great advantage; so that I may say, I had more than four times the value of my first cargo, and was now infinitely beyond my poor neighbor—I mean in the advancement of my plantation; for the first thing I did, I bought me a Negro slave, and a European servant also: I mean another besides that which the captain brought me from Lisbon.

But as abused prosperity is oftentimes made the very means of our greatest adversity, so it was with me. I went on the next year with great success in my plantation; I raised fifty great rolls of tobacco on my own ground, more than I had disposed of for necessity among my neighbors; and these fifty rolls being each of above 100 lbs. weight, were well cured, and laid by against the return of the fleet from Lisbon. And now, increasing in business and wealth, my head began to be full of projects and undertakings beyond my reach—such as are, indeed, often the ruin of the best heads in business.

Had I continued in the station I was now in, I had room for all the happy things to have yet befallen me, for which my father so earnestly recommended a quiet, retired life, and which he had so sensibly described the middle station of life to be full of; but other things attended me, and I was still to be the wilful agent of all my own miseries; and particularly to increase my fault, and double the reflections upon myself, which, in my future sorrows, I should have leisure to make. All these miseries were procured by my apparent obstinate adhering to my foolish inclination of wandering abroad, and pursuing that inclination, in contradiction to the clearest views of doing myself good in a fair and plain pursuit of those prospects, and those measures of life, which Nature and Providence concurred to present me with, and to make my duty.

As I had once done thus in breaking away from my parents, so I could not be content now; but I must go and leave the happy view I had of being a rich and thriving man in my new plantation, only to pursue a rash and immoderate desire of rising faster than the nature of the thing admitted; and thus I cast myself down again into the deepest gulf of human misery that ever man fell into, or perhaps could be consistent with life and a state of health in the world.

To come, then, by just degrees to the particulars of this part of my story: You may suppose that, having now lived almost four years in the Brazils, and beginning to thrive and prosper very well upon my plantation, I had not only learned the language, but had contracted acquaintance and friendship among my fellow-planters, as well as among the merchants of St. Salvador, which was our port; and that, in my discourse among them, I had frequently given them an account of my two voyages to the coast of Guinea, the manner of trading with the Negroes there, and how easy it was to purchase upon the coast, for trifles, such as beads, toys, knives, scissors, hatchets, bits of glass, and the like, not only gold-dust, Guinea grains, elephants' teeth, &c. but Negroes for the service of the Brazils, in great numbers.

They listened always very attentively to my discourses on these heads; but especially to that part which related to the buying Negroes, which was a trade, at that time, not only not far entered into, but, as far as it was, had been carried on by the assiento, or permission of the kings of Spain and Portugal, and engrossed in the public stock, so that few Negroes were bought, and those exceedingly dear.

It happened, being in company one day with some merchants and planters of my acquaintance, and talking of those things very earnestly, three of them came to me the next morning, and told me they had been musing very much upon what I had discoursed of with them the last night, and they came to make a secret proposal to me; and, after enjoining on me secrecy, they told me that they had a mind to fit out a ship to go to Guinea; that they had all plantations as well as I, and were straitened for nothing so much as servants; that as it was a trade that could not be carried on, because they could not publicly sell the Negroes when they came home, so they desired to make but one voyage, to bring the Negroes on shore privately, and divide them among their own plantations; and in a word, the question was, whether I would go their supercargo in the ship, to manage the trading part upon the coast of Guinea; and they offered me that I should have my equal share of Negroes, without providing any part of the stock.

This was a fair proposal, it must be confessed, had it been made to any one that had not had a settlement and plantation of his own to look after, which was in a fair way of coming to be very considerable, and with a good stock upon it. But for me, who was thus established, and had nothing to do but to go on as I had begun for three or four years more, and to have sent for the other £100 from England, and who, in that time, and with that little addition, could scarce have failed of being worth £3,000 or £4,000 sterling, and that increasing too; for me to think of such a voyage, was the most preposterous thing that ever man, in such circumstances, could be guilty of.

But I, that was born to be my own destroyer, could no more resist the offer, than I could restrain my first rambling designs, when my father's good counsel was lost upon me. In a word, I told them I would go with all my heart, if they would undertake to look after my plantation in my absence, and would dispose of it to such as I should direct, if I miscarried. This they all engaged to

do, and entered into writings, or covenants to do so; and I made a formal will, disposing of my plantation and effects in case of my death—making the captain of the ship that had saved my life, as before, my universal heir, but obliging him to dispose of my effects as I had directed in my will; one-half of the produce being to himself, and the other to be shipped to England.

In short, I took all possible caution to preserve my effects, and to keep up my plantation. Had I used half as much prudence to have looked into my own interest, and have made a judgment of what I ought to have done, and not to have done, I had certainly never gone away from so prosperous an undertaking; leaving all the probable views of a thriving circumstance, and gone upon a voyage to sea, attended with all its common hazards, to say nothing of the reasons I had to expect particular misfortunes to myself.

But I was hurried on, and obeyed blindly the dictates of my fancy, rather than my reason; and, accordingly, the ship being fitted out, and the cargo furnished, and all things done as my agreement by my partners in the voyage, I went on board in an evil hour again, the 1st of September, 1659, being the same day eight years that I went from my father and mother at Hull, in order to act the rebel to their authority, and the fool to my own interest.

Our ship was about 120 tons burden, carried six guns and fourteen men, besides the master, his boy, and myself. We had on board no large cargo of goods, except of such toys as were fit for our trade with the Negroes; such as beads, bits of glass, shells, and odd trifles—especially little looking-glasses, knives, scissors, hatchets and the like.

The same day I went on board we set sail, standing away to the northward upon our own coast, with a design to stretch over for the African coast, when they came into about ten or twelve degrees of northern latitude, which, it seems, was the manner of their course in those days. We had very good weather, only excessively hot all the way upon our own coast, till we came to the height of Cape St. Augustine, from whence, keeping farther off at sea, we lost sight of land, and steered as if we were bound for the Isle of Fernando de Noronha; holding our course N. E. by N., and leaving those isles on the east. In this course we passed the line in about twelve days' time, and were, by our last observation, in 7 degrees, 22 minutes, northern latitude, when a violent tornado, or hurricane, took us quite out of our knowledge; I began from the south-east, came about to the north-west, and then settled into the north-east—from whence it blew in such a terrible manner, that for twelve days together, we could do nothing but drive, and, scudding away before it, let it carry us wherever fate, and the fury of the winds, directed; and during these twelve days, I need not say that I expected every day to be swallowed up: nor did any in the ship expect to save their lives.

In this distress we had, besides the terror of the storm, one of our men died of the calenture, and one man and the boy washed overboard. About the twelfth day, the weather abating a little, the master made an observation as well as he could, and found that he was in about 11 degrees of north latitude, but that he was 22 degrees of longitude difference west from Cape St. Augustine; so that he found he had gotten upon the coast of Guiana, or the north part of Brazil, beyond the river Amazon, towards that of the river Orinoco, commonly called the Great River; and now he began to consult with me what course he should take; for the ship was leaky, and very much disabled, and he was for going directly back to the coast of Brazil.

I was positively against that; and looking over the charts of the sea-coast of America with him, we concluded there was no inhabited country for us to have recourse to, till we came within the circle of the Caribbee Islands; and, therefore, resolved to stand away for Barbadoes, which, by keeping off at sea, to avoid the indraught of the Bay or Gulf of Mexico, we might very easily perform, as we hoped, in about fifteen days' sail; whereas, we could not possibly make our voyage to the coast of Africa, without some assistance, both to our ship, and to ourselves.

With this design, we changed our course, and steered away N. W. by W., in order to reach some of our English islands, where I hoped for relief; but our voyage was otherwise determined, for being in the latitude of 12 degrees, 18 minutes, a second storm came upon us, which carried us away with the same impetuosity westward, and drove us so out of the way of all human commerce, that had all our lives been saved as to the sea, we were rather in danger of being devoured by savages, than ever returning to our own country.

In this distress, the wind still blowing very hard, one of our men, early one morning, cried out, "Land!" and we had no sooner run out of the cabin to look out in hopes of seeing whereabouts in the world we were, but the ship struck upon a sand, and, in the moment, her motion being so stopped, the sea broke over her in such a manner, that we expected we should all have perished immediately; and we were even driven into close quarters, to shelter us from the very foam and spray of the sea.

It is not easy for any one, who has not been in the like condition, to describe the consternation of men in such circumstances. We knew nothing where we were, or upon what land it was we were driven—whether an island or the main, whether inhabited or not, uninhabited, and as the rage of the wind was still great, though rather less than at first, we could not so much as hope to have the ship hold many minutes without breaking in pieces, unless the wind, by a kind of miracle, should turn immediately about. In a word, we sat looking one upon another, and expecting death every moment, and every man acting accordingly, as preparing for another world; that which was little or nothing more for us to do in this; for there was our present comfort, and all the comfort we had was, that, contrary to our expectation, the ship did not break yet, and that the master said, the wind began to abate.

Now, though we thought that the wind did a little abate, yet the ship, having thus struck upon the sand, and sticking too fast for us to expect her getting off, we



were in a dreadful condition indeed, and had nothing to do but to think of saving our lives, as well as we could. We had a boat at our stern just before the storm; but she was first staved by dashing against the ship's rudder, and, in the next place, she broke away, and either sunk, or was driven off to sea; so there was no hope for her. We had another boat on board; but how to get her off into the sea was a doubtful thing. However, there was no room to debate, for we fancied the ship would break in pieces every minute; and some told us she was actually broken already.

In this distress, the mate of our vessel lays hold of the boat, and, with the help of the rest of the men, they got her hung over the ship's side; and getting all into her, let go, and committed ourselves, being eleven in number, to God's mercy, and the wild sea; for though the storm was abated considerably, yet the sea went dreadfully high upon the shore, and might well be called, "Der wild zee," as the Dutch call the sea in a storm.

And now our case was very dismal indeed; for we all saw plainly that the sea went so high, that the boat could not escape, and that we should be inevitably drowned. As to making sail, we had none; nor, if we had, could we have done anything with it; so we worked at the oars towards the land, though with heavy hearts, like men going to execution; for we all knew, that when the boat came near the shore, she would be dashed into a thousand pieces by the breach of the sea. However, we committed our souls to God, in the most earnest manner; and the wind driving us towards the shore, we hastened our destruction with our own hands, pulling, as well as we could, towards land.

What the shore was, whether rock or sand, whether steep or shoal, we knew not: the only hope that could rationally give us the least shadow of expectation, was, if we happen to get into some bay or gulf, or the mouth of some river, where by great chance, we might have run our boat in, or got under the lee of the land, and perhaps made smooth water. But there was nothing of this appeared; but as we made nearer and nearer the shore, the land looked more frightful than the sea.

After we had rowed, or rather driven, about a league and a half, as we reckoned it, a raging wave, mountain-like, came rolling astern of us, and plainly bade us expect the *coup de grace*. In a word, it took us with such a fury, that it overset the boat at once, and separating us, as well from the boat as from one another, gave us not time hardly to say, "O God!" for we were all swallowed up in a moment.



Nothing can describe the confusion of thought which I felt when I sunk into the water; for though I swam very well, yet I could not deliver myself from the waves so as to draw breath, all that wave having driven me, or rather carried me, a vast way on towards the shore, and having spent itself, went back, and left me upon the land almost dry, but half dead with the water I took in. I had so much presence of mind as well as breath left, that seeing myself nearer the main land than I expected, I got upon my feet, and endeavored to make towards the land as fast as I could, before another wave should return, and take me up again. But I soon found it was impossible to avoid it; for I saw the sea come after me as high as a great hill, and as furious as an enemy, which I had no means or strength to contend with; my business was, to hold my breath, and raise myself upon the water, if I could, and so, by swimming, to preserve my breathing, and pilot myself towards the shore, if possible; my greatest concern now being, that the wave, as it would carry me a great way towards the shore when it came on, might carry me back again with it, when it gave back towards the sea.

The wave then came upon me again, buried me at one twenty or thirty feet in its own body, and I could feel my self carried, with a mighty force and swiftness, towards the shore a very great way; but I held my breath, and assisted myself to swim still forward with all my might. I was ready to burst with holding my breath, when, as I felt myself rising up, so, to my immediate relief, I found my head and hands shoot out above the surface of the water; and though it was not two seconds of time that I could keep myself so, yet it relieved me greatly—gave me breath and new courage. I was covered again with water a good while, but not so long but I held it out; and finding the water had spent itself, and began to return, I struck forward against the return of the waves, and felt ground again with my feet. I stood still a few moments to recover breath, and till the water went from me, and then I took to my heels, and ran with what strength I had, farther towards the shore. But neither would this deliver me from the fury of the sea, which came pouring in after me again; and twice more I was lifted up by the waves, and carried forwards as before, the shore being very flat.

The last time of these two had well near been fatal to me; for the sea having hurried me along as before, landed me, or rather dashed me, against a piece of rock, and that with such force that it left me senseless, and, indeed,

helpless, as to my own deliverance; for the blow, taking my side and breast, beat the breath, as it were, quite out of my body; and had it returned again immediately, I must have been strangled in the water; but I recovered a little before the return of the waves, and, seeing I should be covered again with the water, I resolved to hold fast by a piece of the rock, and so to hold my breath, if possible, till the wave went back. Now, as the waves were not so high as at first, being near land, I held my hold till the wave abated, and then fetched another run, which brought me so near the shore, that the next wave, though it went over me, yet did not so swallow me up as to carry me away; and the next run I took, I got to the main land, where, to my great comfort, I clambered up the cliffs of the shore, and sat me down upon the grass, free from danger, and quite out of the reach of the water.

I was now landed, and safe on shore, and began to look up and thank God that my life was saved, in a case wherein there was, some minutes before, scarce any room to hope. I believe it is impossible to express to the life, what the ecstasies and transports of the soul are when it is so saved, as I may say, out of the grave; and I do not wonder now at that custom, viz., that when a malefactor, who has the halter about his neck, is tied up, and just going to be turned off, and has a reprieve brought to him, I say, I do not wonder that they bring a surgeon with it, to let him blood, that very moment they tell him of it, that the surprise may not drive the animal spirits from the heart, and overwhelm him:

For sudden joys, like griefs, confound at first.

I walked about on the shore, lifting up my hands, and my whole being, as I might say, wrapped up in the contemplation of my deliverance, making a thousand gestures and motions which I cannot describe—reflecting upon all my comrades that were drowned, and that there should not be one soul saved but myself; for, as for them, I never saw them afterwards, nor any sign of them, except three of their hats, one cap, and two shoes that were not fellows.

I cast my eyes to the stranded vessel, when, the breach and froth of the sea being so big, I could hardly see it—it lay so far off; and considered, Lord! how was it possible I could get on shore?

After I had solaced my mind with the comfortable part of my condition, I began to look around me, to see what kind of place I was in, and what was next to be done, and I soon found my comforts abate, and that in a word I had a dreadful deliverance; for I was wet, had no clothes to shift me, nor anything, either to eat or drink, to comfort me; neither did I see any prospect before me, but that of perishing with hunger, or being devoured by wild beasts; and that which was particularly afflicting to me was, that I had no weapon either to hunt or kill any creature for my sustenance, or to defend myself against any other creature that might desire to kill me for theirs. In a word, I had nothing about me but a knife, a tobacco-pipe, and a little tobacco in a box; this was all my provision, and this threw me into terrible agonies of mind, that, for a while, I ran about like a madman. Night coming upon me, I began, with a heavy heart, to consider what would be my lot, if there were any ravenous beasts in that country, seeing at night they always come abroad for their prey.



All the remedy that offered to my thoughts at that time was, to get up into a thick bushy tree, like a fir, but thorny, which grew near me, and where I resolved to sit all night, and consider the next day what death I should die; for, as yet, I saw no prospect of life. I walked about a furlong from the shore, to see if I could find any fresh water to drink, which I did, to my great joy; and having drunk, and put a little tobacco in my mouth, to prevent hunger, I went to the tree, and getting up into it, endeavored to place myself so as that if I should sleep, I might not fall; and having cut me a short stick, like a truncheon, for my defence, I took up my lodging; and having been excessively fatigued, I fell asleep, and slept as comfortably as I believe few could have done in my condition; and found myself the more refreshed with it than I think I ever was on such an occasion.

When I waked, it was broad day, the weather clear, and the storm abated, so that the sea did not rage and swell as before; but that which surprised me most was that the ship was lifted off, in the night, from the sand where she lay, by the swelling of the tide, and was driven up almost as far as the rock which I first mentioned, where I had been so bruised by the dashing me against it. This being within about a mile from the shore where I was, and the ship seeming to stand upright still, I wished myself on board, that, at least, I might save some necessary things for my use.

When I came down from my apartment in the tree, I

looked about me again; and the first thing I found was the boat, which lay as the wind and sea had thrown her upon the land, about two miles on my right hand. I walked as far as I could upon the shore, to get to her, but found a neck or inlet of water between me and the boat, which was about a half a mile broad; so I came back for the present, being more intent upon getting at the ship, where I hoped to find something for my present subsistence.

A little after noon I found the sea very calm; and the tide ebbed so far out, that I could come within a quarter of a mile of the ship; and here I found a fresh renewing of my grief; for I saw evidently that if we had kept on board we had all been safe, that is to say, we had all got safe on shore, and I had not been so miserable as to be left entirely destitute of all comfort and company, as I now was. This forced tears from my eyes again; but as there was little relief in that, I resolved, if possible, to get to the ship; so I pulled off my clothes, for the weather was hot to extremity, and took the water; but when I came to the ship, my difficulty was still greater to know how to get on board; for as she lay aground, and high out of the water, there was nothing within my reach to lay hold of. I swam round her twice, and the second time I espied a small piece of rope, which I wondered I did not see at first, hanging down by the fore chains, so low as that with great difficulty I got hold of it, and, by the help of that rope, got up in the fore-castle of the ship. Here I found that the ship was bulged, and had a great deal of water in her hold, but that she lay so on the side of a bank of hard sand or rather earth, that her stern lay lifted up upon the bank, and her head low almost to the water; by this means all her quarters was free, and all that was in that part was dry; for you may be sure my first work was to search and see what was spoiled and what was free; and first I found that all the ship's provisions were dry and untouched by the water; and being very well disposed to eat, I went to the bread-room, and filled my pockets with biscuit, and ate it as I went about other things, for I had no time to lose. I also found some rum in the great cabin, of which I took a large dram, and which I had indeed need enough of, to spirit me for what was before me. Now I wanted nothing but a boat to furnish myself with many things which I foresaw would be necessary to me.

It was in vain to sit still and wish for what was not to be had; and this extremity roused my application. We had several spare yards, and two large squares of wood, and a spare topmast or two in the ship; I resolved to fall to work with these and flung as many of them overboard as I could manage for their weight; tying every one with a rope, that they might not drive away. When this was done, I went down the ship's side, and pulling them to me, I tied four of them fast together at both ends, as well as I could, in the form of a raft; and laying two or three short pieces of plank crossways, I found I could walk upon it very well, but that it was not able to bear any great weight, the pieces being too light; so I went to work with a carpenter's saw, and cut a spare topmast into three lengths, and added them to my raft, with a great deal of labor and pains; but the hope of furnishing myself with necessities encouraged me to go beyond what I should have been able to have done upon another occasion.

My raft was now strong enough to bear any reasonable weight. My next care was what to load it with, and how to preserve what I had laid upon it from the surface of the sea; but I was not long considering this; I first laid all the planks or boards upon it I could get, and having considered well what I most wanted, I first got three of the seamen's chests, which I had broken open and emptied, and lowered them down upon my raft. The first of these I filled with provisions, viz., bread, rice, three Dutch cheeses, five pieces of dried goat's flesh, which we lived much upon, and a little remainder of European corn, which had been laid by for some fowls which we had brought to sea with us; but the fowls were killed; there had been some barley and wheat together, but to my great disappointment, I found afterwards that the rats had eaten or spoiled it all. As for liquors, I found several cases of bottles belonging to our skipper, in which were some cordial waters, and in all above five or six gallons of arrack: these I stowed by themselves, there being no need to put them into the chest, nor any room for them. While I was doing this, I found the tide began to flow, though very calm, and I had the mortification to see my coat, shirt, and waistcoat, which I had left on shore upon the sand, swim away; as for my breeches, which were only linen and open-kneed, I swam on board in them and my stockings. However, this put me on rummaging for clothes, of which I found enough, but took no more than I wanted for present use, as I had other things which my eye was more upon; as first, tools to work with on shore, and it was after long searching I found out the carpenter's chest, which was indeed a very useful prize to me, and much more valuable than a ship-loading of gold would have been at that time. I got it down to my raft, even whole as it was, without losing time to look into it, for I knew in general what it contained.

My next care was for some ammunition and arms. There were two very good fowling-pieces in the great cabin, and two pistols: these I secured first, with some powder-horns, a small bag of shot, and two old rusty swords. I knew there were three barrels of powder in the ship, but knew not where our gunner had stowed them, but with much search I found them, two of them dry and good, the third had taken water; those two I got to my raft with the arms. And now I thought myself pretty well freighted, and began to think how I should get to shore with them, having neither sail, oar, or rudder, and the least capful of wind would have overset all my navigation.

I had three encouragements. First, a smooth and calm sea. Secondly, the tide rising and setting into the shore. Thirdly, what little wind there was, blew me towards the land. And thus, having found two or three broken oars belonging to the boat, and besides the tools which were in the chest, I found two saws, an ax and a hammer, and with this cargo I put to sea. For a mile, or thereabouts, my raft went very well, only that I found it drove a little



distant from the place where I had landed before, by which I perceived there was some draught of the water, and consequently I hoped to find some creek or river, where, which I might make use of as a port to get to land with my cargo.

As I imagined, so it was; there appeared before me a little opening of the land. I found a strong current of the tide set into it, so I guided my raft as well as I could, to keep in the middle of the stream. But here I had liked to have suffered a second shipwreck, which if I had, I think verily would have broken my heart; for, knowing nothing of the coast, my raft ran aground, at one end of it, upon a shoal; not being aground at the other end, it wanted but a little that my cargo had slipped off towards that end that was afloat, and so fallen into the water: I did my utmost by setting my back against the chests, to keep them in their places, but could not thrust off the raft with all my strength; neither durst I stir from the posture I was in, but, holding up the chests with all my might, stood in that manner near half an hour, in which time the rising of the water brought me a little more upon a level; and a little after, the water still rising, my raft floated again, and I thrust her off with the oar I had, into the channel, and then driving up higher, I at length found myself in the mouth of a little river, with land on both sides, and a strong current of tide running up. I looked on both sides for a proper place to get to shore, for I was not willing to be driven too high up the river, hoping in time to see some ship at sea, and therefore resolved to place myself as near the coast as I could.

At length I spied a little cove on the right shore of the creek, to which, with great pain and difficulty, I guided my raft, and at last got so near, as that, reaching ground with my oar, I could thrust her directly in; but here I had liked to have dipped all my cargo in the sea again; for that shore lying pretty steep, that is to say, sloping, there was no place to land, but where one end of the raft, if it ran on shore, would be so high, and the other sink lower, as before, that it would endanger my cargo again. All that I could do, was to wait till the tide was at the highest, keeping the raft with my oar, like an anchor, to hold the side of it fast to the shore, near a flat piece of ground, which I expected the water would flow over; and so it did. As soon as I found water enough (for my raft drew about a foot of water), I thrust her upon that flat piece of ground, and there fastened and moored her, by sticking my two broken oars into the ground, one on one side near one end, and one on the other side near the other end; and thus I held it until the tide ebbed away and left my cargo safe on shore.

My next work was to view the country, and seek a proper place for my habitation, and where to stow my goods, to secure them from whatever might happen. Where I was, I yet knew not; whether on the continent or on an island; whether inhabited or not inhabited; whether in danger of wild beasts or not. There was a hill not above a mile from me, which rose up very steep and high, and which seemed to overtop some other hills, which lay as in a ridge from it, northward. I took out one of the fowling-pieces, and one of the pistols, and a horn of powder, and, thus armed, I traveled for discovery up to the top of that hill, where, after I had with great labor and difficulty got up, I immediately saw my fate, to my great affliction, viz.: that I was in an island, environed every way with the sea; no land to be seen, except some rocks, which lay a great way off, and two small islands less than this, which lay about three leagues to the west.

I found also that the island that I was in was barren, and, as I saw good reason to believe, uninhabited, except by wild beasts, of which, however, I saw none; yet I saw abundance of fowls, but knew not their kinds, neither, when I killed them, could I tell what was fit for food, and what not. At my coming back I shot at a great bird, which I saw sitting upon a tree, on the side of a large wood. I believe it was the first gun that had been fired there, since the creation of the world. I had no sooner fired, but from all parts of the wood there arose an extraordinary number of fowls, of many sorts, making a confused screaming and crying, every one according to his usual note; but not one of them of any kind that I knew. As for the creature I killed, I took it to be a kind of hawk, its color and beak resembling it, but it had no talons or claws more than common; its flesh was carrion, and fit for nothing.

Contented with this discovery, I came back to my raft, and felt to work to bring my cargo on shore, which took me up the rest of the day. What to do with myself at night, I knew not, nor indeed where to rest, for I was afraid to lie down on the ground, not knowing but what some wild beast might devour me, though I afterwards found there was really no need of those fears.

However, as well as I could, I barricaded myself round with the chests and boards that I had brought on shore, and made a kind of hut for that night's biding. As for food, I yet saw not which way to supply myself, except that I had seen two or three creatures, like hares, run out of the wood where I shot the fowl.

I now began to consider that I might yet get a great many things out of the ship, which would be useful to me, and particularly some of the rigging and sails, and such other things as might come to hand, and I resolved to make another voyage on board the vessel, if possible; and as I knew the first storm that blew must necessarily break her all in pieces, I resolved to set all other things apart, till I got every thing out of the ship that I could get; then I called a council, that is to say, in my thoughts, whether I should take back the raft, but this appeared impracticable, so I resolved to go as before, when the tide was down, and I did so, only that I stripped before I went from my hut, having nothing on but a checked shirt, a pair of linen drawers, and a pair of pumps on my feet.

I got on board the ship as before, and prepared a second raft; and having had experience of the first, I neither made this so unwieldy, nor loaded it so hard; but yet I brought away several things very useful to me: as first, in the carpenter's store I found two or three bags full of nails and spikes, a great screw-jack, a dozen or two of hatchets, and, above all, that most useful thing called a

grindstone; all these I secured, together with several things belonging to the gunner, particularly two or three iron crow's, and two barrels of musket bullets, seven muskets and another fowling-piece, with some small quantity of powder more: a large bag full of small shot, and a great roll of sheet lead; but this last was so heavy, I could not hoist it up to get it over the ship's side.

Besides these things, I took all the men's clothes that I could find, and a spare fore-top-sail, hammock, and some bedding; and with this I loaded my second raft, and brought them also safe on shore, to my very great comfort.

I was under some apprehensions during my absence from the land, that at least my provisions might be devoured on shore; but when I came back, I found no sign of any visitor, only there sat a creature like a wild-cat upon one of the chests, when I came towards it ran away to a little distance, and then stood still. She sat very composed and unconcerned, and looked full in my face, as if she had a mind to be acquainted with me. I presented my gun at her; but as she did not understand it, she was perfectly unconcerned at it, nor did she offer to stir away: upon which I tossed her a bit of biscuit, though by the way I was not very free of it, for my store was not great. However, I spared her a bit, I say, and she went to it, smelled it, and ate it, and looked, as if pleased, for more, but I thanked her, and could spare no more; so she marched off.

Having got my second cargo on shore (though I was fain to open the barrels of powder, and bring them by parcels, for they were too heavy, being large casks), I went to work to make a little tent with the sail and some poles which I cut for the purpose; and into this tent I brought every thing that I knew would spoil, either with rain or sun; and I piled all the empty chests and casks up in a circle round the tent, to fortify it from any sudden attempt, either from man or beast.

When I had done this, I blocked up the door of the tent with some boards within, and an empty chest set up on one end without, and spreading one of the beds upon the ground, laying my two pistols just at my head, and my gun at length by me, I went to bed, for the first time, and slept very quietly all night, being very weary and heavy; for the night before I had slept little, and labored very hard all day, as well to fetch those things from the ship as to get them on shore.

I had the biggest magazine of all kinds now that ever was laid up, I believe, for one man; but I was not satisfied still, for while the ship sat upright in that posture, I thought I ought to get every thing out of her that I could; so every day at low water I went on board, and brought away something or other. But particularly the third time I went, I brought away so much of the rigging as I could, as also all the small ropes, and rope-twine I could get, with a piece of spare canvas, which was to mend the sails upon occasion, and a barrel of wet gunpowder. In a word, I brought away all the sails, first and last, only that I was fain to cut them in pieces, and bring as much at a time as I could; for they were no more useful to me for sails, but as mere canvas only.



But that which comforted me more still, was that at last of all, after I had made five or six such voyages as these, and thought I had nothing more to expect from the ship that was worth my meddling with, I say, after all this, I found a great hoghead of bread, three large runlets of rum or spirits, a box of sugar, and a barrel of fine flour: this was surprising to me, because I had given over expecting any more provisions, except what was spoiled by the water. I soon emptied the hoghead of that bread, and wrapt it up, parcel by parcel, in pieces of the sails, which I cut out; and, in a word, I got all this safe on shore, also, though at several times.

The next day I made another voyage; and now, having plundered the ship of what was portable, and fit to hand out, I began with the cables; and cutting the great cable into pieces, such as I could move, I got two cables and a hawser on shore, with all the iron-work I could get; and having cut down the spritsail-yard, and the mizen-yard, and everything I could to make a large raft, I loaded it with all those heavy goods and came away. But my good luck began to leave me, for this raft was so unwieldy, and so overlaid, that after I had entered the little cove, where I had landed the rest of my goods, not being able to guide it so handily as I did the other, it overset, and threw me and all my cargo into the water. As for myself it was no great harm, for I was near the shore; but as to my cargo it was a great part of it lost, especially the iron, which I expected would have been of great use to me. However, when the tide was out, I got most of the pieces of cable ashore, and some of the iron, though with infinite labor, for I was fain to dip for it into the water, a work which fatigued me very much. After this I went every day on board, and brought away what I could get.

I had been now thirteen days on shore, and been eleven times on board the ship, in which time I had brought

away all that one pair of hands could well be supposed capable to bring, though I believe, verily, had the calm weather held, I should have brought away the whole ship, piece by piece. But preparing the twelfth time to go on board, I found the wind began to rise: however, at low water, I went on board; and though I thought I had rummaged the cabin so effectually, as that nothing more could be found, yet I discovered a locker, with drawers in it, in one of which I found two or three razors, and one pair of large scissors, with ten or a dozen good knives and forks: in another, I found about thirty-six pounds value in money, some European coin, some Brazil, some pieces of eight, some gold, some silver.

When I was gotten home to my little tent, I lay with all my wealth about me very secure; it blew very hard all that night; and in the morning, when I looked out, behold, no more ship was to be seen! I was a little surprised, but recovering myself with this satisfactory reflection, viz.: that I had lost no time, nor abated any diligence, to get every thing out of her that could be useful to me; and that indeed there was little left in her that I was able to bring away, if I had had more time. I now gave over any more thought of the ship, or of anything of her, except what might drive on shore from her wreck, as indeed divers pieces of her afterwards did; but those things were of small use to me.

Some days after this, after I had been on board the ship, and had got all I could out of her, I could not forbear getting up to the top of a little mountain, and looking out to sea, in hopes of seeing a ship; then fancy, at a vast distance, I spied a sail; please myself with the hopes of it; and then, after looking steadily, till I was almost blind, lose it quite, and sit down and weep like a child, and thus increase my misery by my folly.

But having gotten over these things, in some measure, and having settled my household stuff and habitation, made me a table and a chair, and all as handsome about me as I could, I began, I say, to keep a journal, of which I shall here give you the copy, (though in it will be told all these particulars over again,) as long as it lasted; for at last, having no more ink, I was forced to leave it off.

#### THE JOURNAL.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1659. I, poor miserable Robinson Crusoe, being shipwrecked during a dreadful storm in the offing, came on shore on this dismal, unfortunate island, which I called the Island of Despair, all the rest of the ship's company being drowned, and myself almost dead.

All the rest of the day I spent in afflicting myself at the dismal circumstance I was brought to, viz.: I had neither food, house, clothes, weapon, nor place to fly to, and in despair of any relief, saw nothing but death before me, either that I should be devoured by wild beasts, murdered by savages, or starved to death for want of food. At the approach of night, I slept in a tree, for fear of wild creatures, but slept soundly, though it rained all night.

October 1. In the morning, I saw to my great surprise, the ship had floated with the high tide, and was driven on shore again, much nearer the island, which, as it was some comfort on the one hand, (for seeing her sit upright, and not broken in pieces, I hoped, if the wind abated, I might get on board, and get some food and necessities out of her for my relief,) so, on the other hand, it renewed my grief at the loss of my comrades, who, I imagined, if we had all stayed on board, might have saved the ship, or at least that they would not have been all drowned, as they were; and that, had the men been saved, we might perhaps have built us a boat out of the ruins of the ship, to have carried us to some other part of the world. I spent great part of this day in perplexing myself on these things; but at length, seeing the ship almost dry, I went upon the sand as near as I could, and then swam on board. This day also continued raining, though with no wind at all.

From the 1st of October to the 24th. All these days entirely spent in making several voyages to get all I could out of the ship, which I brought on shore, every tide of flood, upon rafts. Much rain also in these days, though with some intervals of fair weather; but it seems, this was the rainy season.

October 24. I overset my raft, and all the goods I had got upon it; and being in shoal water, and the things being chiefly heavy, I recovered many of them when the tide was out.

October 25. It rained all night, and all day, with some gusts of wind, during which time the ship broke in pieces, the wind blowing a little harder than before, and was no more to be seen, except the wreck of her, and that only at low water. I spent this day in covering and securing the goods which I saved, that the rain might not spoil them.

October 26. I walked about the shore almost all day to find out a place to fix my habitation, greatly concerned to secure myself from any attack, in the night, either from wild beasts or men. Towards night I fixed upon a proper place under a rock, and marked out a semicircle for my encampment, which I resolved to strengthen with a wall, or wall, or fortification, made of double piles, lined within with cable, and without with turf.

From the 26th to the 30th, I worked very hard in carrying all my goods to my new habitation, though some part of the time it rained exceedingly hard.

The 31st, in the morning, I went out into the island with my gun, to see for some food and discover the country; when I killed a she-goat, and her kid followed me home, which I afterwards killed, also, because it would not feed.

November 1. I set up my tent under a rock, and lay there for the first night, making it as large as I could, with stakes, driven in to swing my hammock upon.

November 2. I set up all my chests and boards, and the pieces of timber which made my rafts, and with them formed a fence round me, a little within the place I had marked out for my fortification.

November 3. I went out with my gun, and killed two fowls like ducks, which were very good food. In the afternoon, I went to work to make me a table.

November 4. This morning I began to order my time of work, of going out with my gun, time of sleep, and time of diversion—viz., every morning I walked out with my gun, for two or three hours, if it did not rain; then



employed myself to work till about eleven o'clock; then sat what I had to live on: and from twelve to two, I lay down to sleep, the weather being excessively hot, and then in the evening to work again. The working part of this day and the next, were wholly employed in making my table, for I was yet but a very sorry workman, though time and necessity made me a complete natural mechanic, soon after, as I believe it would do any one else.

November 5. This day I went abroad with my gun and my dog, and killed a wild-cat; her skin pretty soft, but her flesh good for nothing. Every creature I killed, I took off the skins and preserved them. Coming back, by the sea-shore, I saw many sorts of sea-fowls which I did not understand; but was surprised, and almost frightened, with two or three turtles, which, while I was gazing at, not well knowing what they were, got into the sea, and escaped me for that time.

November 6. After my morning walk, I went to work with my table again, and finishing it, though not to my liking; nor was it long before I learned to mend it.

November 7. Now it began to be settled fair weather. The 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and part of the 12th, (for the 11th was Sunday, according to my reckoning,) I took wholly up to make me a chair, and, with much ado, brought it to a tolerable shape, but never to please me; and even in the making I pulled it to pieces several times. Note, I soon neglected keeping my Sundays; for, omitting my mark for them on my post, I forgot which was which.

November 13. This day it rained, which refreshed me exceedingly, and cooled the earth; but it was accompanied with terrible thunder and lightning, which frightened me dreadfully, for fear of my powder. As soon as it was over, I resolved to separate my stock of powder into as many little parcels as possible, that it might not be in danger.

November 14, 15, 16. These three days I spent in making little square chests or boxes, which might hold about a pound, or two pounds at most, of powder; and so putting the powder in, I stowed it in places as secure and remote from one another as possible. On one of these three days I killed a large bird that was good to eat, but I knew not what to call it.

November 17. This day I began to dig behind my tent into the rock, to make room for my further convenience. Note, three things I wanted exceedingly, for this work, viz.: a pick-axe, a shovel, and a wheel-barrow or basket; so I desisted from my work, and began to consider how to supply that want, and make me some tools. As for the pick-axe, I made use of the iron crows, which were proper enough, though heavy; but the next thing was a shovel or spade; this was so absolutely necessary that indeed I could do nothing effectually without it; but what kind of one to make, I knew not.

November 18. The next day, in searching the woods, I found a tree of that wood, or like it, which, in the Brazil, they call the iron-tree, for its exceeding hardness; of this, with great labor, and almost spoiling my ax, I cut a piece, and brought it home, too, with difficulty enough, for it was exceeding heavy.

The excessive hardness of the wood, and having no other way, made me a long while upon this machine; for I worked it effectually, by little and little, into the form of a shovel or spade, the handle exactly shaped like ours in England, only that the broad part having no iron shod upon it at bottom, it would not last me so long; however, it served well enough for the uses which I had occasion to put it to; but never was a shovel, I believe, made after that fashion, or so long a making.

I was still deficient, for I wanted a basket, or a wheel-barrow; a basket I could not make, by any means, having no such things as twigs that would bend, to make wicker-ware, or, at least, none yet found out; and, as to the wheel-barrow, I fancied I could make all but the wheel; but that I had no notion of, neither did I know how to go about it; besides, I had no possible way to make iron gudgeons, for the spindle or the axle of the wheel to run in, so I gave over; and, for carrying away the earth which I dug out of the cave, I made me a thing like a hod, which the laborers carry mortar in, when they serve the bricklayers.

This was not so difficult to me as the making the shovel; and yet this, and the shovel, and the attempt which I made in vain to make a wheel-barrow, took me up no less than four days; I mean, always excepting my morning walk with my gun, which I seldom failed, and very seldom failed also of bringing home something fit to eat.

November 25. My other work having stood still because of my making these tools, when they were finished, I went on; and, working every day as much as my strength and time allowed, I spent eighteen days entirely in widening and deepening my cave, that it might hold my goods commodiously.

Note, during all this time I worked to make this room, or cave, spacious enough to accommodate me as a warehouse, or magazine, a kitchen, a dining-room, and a cellar; as for a lodging, I kept to the tent, except that sometimes in the wet season of the year it rained so hard that I could not keep myself dry; which caused me afterwards to cover all my place within my pale, with long poles, in the form of rafters, leaning against the rock, and load them with flags and large leaves of trees, like a thatch.

December 10. I began now to think my cave or vault finished, when, on a sudden, (it seems I had made it too large,) a great quantity of earth fell down from the top and one side, so much that, in short, it frightened me, and not without reason, for if I had been under it, I had never wanted a grave-digger. Upon this disaster I had a great deal of work to do over again; for I had the loose earth to carry out, and, which was of more importance, I had the ceiling to prop up, so that I might be sure no more would come down.

December 11. This day I went to work with it accordingly, and got two shores or posts, pitched upright to the top, with two pieces of board across over each post. This I finished the next day; and setting more posts up with boards, in about a week more I had the roof secured; and the posts, standing in rows, served me for partitions to part off my house.

December 17. From this day to the 20th I placed shelves, and knocked up nails on the posts, to hang every thing up that could be hung up; and now I began to be in some order within doors.

December 20. Now I carried everything into the cave, and began to furnish my house, and set up some pieces of board, like a dresser, to order my victuals upon; but boards began to be very scarce with me. I also made me another table.

December 24. Much rain all night and all day; no stirring out.

December 25. Rain all day.

December 26. No rain, and the earth much cooler than before, and pleasanter.



December 27. Killed a young goat, and lamed another, so that I caught it, and led it home, in a string; when I got it home I bound and splintered up its leg, which was broken, and I took such care of it that it lived, and the leg grew well, and as strong as ever; but by nursing it so long it grew tame, and fed upon the little green at my door, and would not go away. This was the first time that I had entertained a thought of breeding up some tame creatures, that I might have food when my powder and shot were all spent.

December 28, 29, 30. Great heats and no breeze, so that there was no stirring abroad, except in the evening, for food. This time I spent in putting all my things in order within doors.

January 1. Very hot still; but I went abroad early and late, with my gun, and lay still in the middle of the day. This evening, going farther into the valleys, which lay to the center of the island, I found there were plenty of goats, though exceedingly shy, and hard to come at; however, I resolved to try if I could not bring my dog to hunt them down.

January 2. Accordingly, the next day, I went out with my dog, and set him upon the goats; but I was mistaken, for they all faced about upon the dog, and he knew his danger too well, for he would not come near them.

January 3. I began my fence or wall, which, being still jealous of my being attacked by somebody, I resolved to make very thick and strong. I was no less time than from the 3d of January to the 14th of April, working finishing, and perfecting this wall, though it was no more than about twenty-four yards in length, being at half-circle, from one place in the rock to another place about eight yards from it, the door of the cave being in the centre behind it.

All this time I worked very hard, the rains hindering me many days, nay, sometimes, weeks together; but I thought I never should be perfectly secure till this wall was finished; and it is scarcely credible what inexpressible labor everything was done with, especially the bringing piles out of the woods, and driving them into the ground; for I made them much bigger than I needed to have done.

When this wall was finished, and the outside double fenced, with a turf wall raised up close to it, I persuaded myself, that if any people were to come on shore there, they would not perceive anything like a habitation; and it was very well I did so, as may be observed hereafter, upon a very remarkable occasion.

During this time, I made my rounds in the woods for game every day, when the rain permitted me, and made frequent discoveries in these walks of something or other to my advantage; particularly, I found a kind of wild pigeon, which built not as wood-pigeons, in a tree, but rather as house-pigeons, in the holes of the rocks; and taking some young ones, I endeavored to breed them up tame, and did so; but when they grew older, they all flew away, which perhaps was at first for want of feeding them, for I had nothing to give them: however, I frequently found their nests, and got their young ones, which were very good meat.

And now, in the managing my household affairs, I found myself wanting in many things, which I thought at first it was impossible for me to make, as indeed as to some of them it was; for instance, I could never make a cask to be hooped. I had a small runlet or two, as I observed before, but I could never arrive at the capacity of making one by them, though I spent many weeks about it; I could neither put in the heads, nor join the staves so true to one another as to make them hold water; so I gave that over also.

In the next place, I was at a great loss for candles; so that as soon as it was dark, which was generally by seven o'clock, I was obliged to go to bed. I remembered the lump of bees'-wax, with which I made candles in my African adventure; I had none of that now. The only remedy I had was, that when I had killed a goat, I saved the tallow, and with a little dish added a wick of some oakum, and made me a lamp; and this gave me light, though not a clear steady light, like a candle. In the middle of all my labors it happened that, rummaging my things, I found a little bag, which, as I hinted before, had been filled with corn, for the feeding of poultry not for

this voyage, but before, as I suppose, when the ship came from Lisbon; what little remainder of corn had been in the bag, was all devoured by the rats, and I saw nothing in the bag but husks and dust; and being willing to have the bag for some other use, (I think it was to put powder in, when I divided it for fear of the lightning, or some such use,) I shook the husks of corn out of it, on one side of my fortification, under the rock.

It was a little before the great rains, just now mentioned, that I threw this stuff away, taking no notice of anything, and not so much as remembering that I had thrown anything there; when, about a month after, or thereabouts, I saw some few stalks of something green shooting up on the ground, which I fancied might be some plant I had not seen; but I was surprised, and perfectly astonished, when, after a little longer time, I saw about ten or twelve ears come out, which were perfect green barley, of the same kind as our European, nay, as our English barley.

It is impossible to express the astonishment and confusion of my thoughts on this occasion: I had hitherto acted upon no religious foundation at all; indeed, I had very few notions of religion in my head, nor had I entertained any sense of anything that had befallen me, otherwise than as a chance, or, as we lightly say, what pleases God; but now I thought these the pure productions of Providence, for my support.

I carefully saved the ears of this corn, you may be sure, in their season, which was about the end of June; and, laying up every corn, I resolved to sow them all again, hoping in time to have some quantity sufficient to supply me with bread: but it was not till the fourth year that I would allow myself the least grain of this corn to eat, and even then but sparingly.

Besides this barley, there were, as above, twenty or thirty stalks of rice, which I preserved with the same care, and whose use was of the same kind, or to the same purpose, viz.: to make me bread, or, rather, food; for I found ways to cook it up without baking, though I did that also, after some time. But to return to my journal.

I worked exceedingly hard these three or four months, to get my wall done; and, the 14th of April, I closed it up, contriving to go into it, not by a door, but over the

wall, by a ladder, that there might be no sign on the outside, of my habitation.

April 16. I finished the ladder; so I went up with the ladder to the top, and then pulled it up after me, and let it down on the outside. This was a complete enclosure to me; for within I had room enough, and nothing could come at me from without, unless it could first mount my wall.

May 1. In the morning, looking towards the sea-side, the tide being low, I saw something lie on the shore, bigger than ordinary, and it looked like a cask; when I came to it I found a small barrel, and two or three pieces of the wreck of the ship, which were driven on shore by a hurricane; and, looking towards the wreck itself, I thought it seemed to lie higher out of water than it used to do. I examined the barrel which was driven on shore, and soon found that it was a barrel of gunpowder, but it had taken water, and the powder was caked as hard as a stone; however, I rolled it farther on shore for the present, and went on upon the sands, as near as I could to the wreck of the ship, to look for more.

When I came down to the ship, I found it strangely removed: the fore-castle, which lay before buried in the sand, was heaved up at least six feet; and the stern, which was broken to pieces, and parted from the rest by the force of the sea, soon after I had left rummaging of her, was tossed, as it were, up, and cast on one side; and the sand was thrown so high on that side next the stern, and whereas there was a great place of water before, so that I could not come within a quarter of a mile of the wreck without swimming, I could now walk quite up to her when the tide was out. I was surprised with this at first, but soon concluded it must be done by the earthquake, a violent shock of which I had felt some days previously; and as by this violence the ship was more broken upon than formerly, so many things came dally on shore, which the sea had loosened, and which the winds and water rolled by degrees to the land.

Having resolved to pull everything to pieces that I could of the ship, concluding that everything I could get from her would be of some use or other to me—

May 3. I began with my saw, and cut a piece of a beam through, which I thought held some of the upper part, or quarter-deck, together; and when I had cut it through, I cleared away the sand as well as I could, from the side which lay highest; but the tide coming in, I was obliged to give over for that time.

I continued this work every day to the 15th of June, except the time necessary to get food, which I always appointed, during this part of my employment, to be when the tide was up, that I might be ready when it was ebb'd out; and by this time, I had gotten timber and plank, and iron work enough to have built a good boat, if I had known how; and also I got at several pieces, near one hundred weight, of sheet-lead.

June 16. Going down on the sea-side, I found a large tortoise or turtle; this was the first I had seen, which, it seems was only my misfortune, not any defect of the place, or scarcity; for had I happened to be on the other side of the island, I might have had hundreds of them every day, as I found afterwards; but, perhaps, had paid dear enough for them.

June 17. I spent in cooking the turtle. I found in her three-score eggs; and her flesh was to me at that time the most savory and pleasant that ever I tasted in my life, having had no flesh but of goats and fowls, since I landed in this horrible place.

June 18. Rained all day, so that I staid within. I thought at this time the rain felt cold, and I was something chilly, which I knew was not usual in that latitude.

June 19. Very ill, and shivering, as if the weather had been cold.

June 20. No rest all night, violent pains in the head, and feverish.



June 21. Very ill, frightened almost to death with the reflections of my sad condition, to be sick, and no sleep. Prayed to God, for the first time since the storm of affliction; but scarce knew what I said, or why; my thoughts being all confused.

June 22. A little better, but under dreadful apprehensions of sickness.

June 23. Very ill again, cold and shivering, and then a violent headache.

June 24. Much better.

June 25. An ague very violent; the fit held me seven hours, cold fit with faint sweats after it.

June 26. Better; and having no victuals to eat took my gun, but found myself very weak; however, I killed a goat, and, with much difficulty, got it home, and broiled some of it, and ate it. I would fain have stewed it, and made some broth, but had no pot.

June 27. The ague again so violent that I lay abed all day, and neither ate nor drank. I was ready to perish or thirst, but so weak, I had not strength to stand up, or to get myself any water to drink; prayed to God again, but was light-headed; and when I was not, I was so ignorant, that I know not what to say; only I lay and cried: "Lord, look upon me! Lord, pity me! Lord, have mercy upon me!" I suppose I did nothing else for two or three hours, till the fit wearing off, I fell asleep, and did not awake till far in the night. When I awoke, I found myself much refreshed, but weak and exceedingly thirsty; however, as I had no water in my whole habitation, I was forced to lie till morning, and went to sleep again.



The good advice of my father now came to my mind, and presently his prediction, which I mentioned at the beginning of this story, viz.: That, if I did take this foolish step, God would not bless me, and I should have leisure hereafter to reflect upon having neglected his counsel, when there might be none to assist me in my recovery. "Now," said I, aloud, "my dear father's words are come to pass; God's justice has overtaken me, and I have none to help or hear me. I rejected the voice of Providence, which had mercifully put me in a posture or station of life wherein I might have been happy and easy; but I would neither see it myself, nor learn to know the blessing of it from my parents; I left them to mourn over my folly, and now I am left to mourn under the consequences of it. I refused their help and assistance, who would have lifted me into the world, and would have made everything easy to me; and now I have difficulties to struggle with, too great for even nature itself to support, and no assistance, no help, no comfort, no advice." Then I cried out: "Lord, be my help, for I am in great distress!"

This was my first prayer, if I might call it so, that I had made for many years. But I return to my journal.

June 28. Having been somewhat refreshed with the sleep I had had, and the fit being entirely off, I got up; and the first thing I did I filled a large square case bottle with water, and set it upon my table, in reach of my bed; and to take off the chill or aguish disposition of the water, I put about a quarter of a pint of rum into it, and mixed them together; then I got me a piece of goat's flesh, and broiled it on the coals, but could eat very little; I walked about, but was very weak, and withal very sad and heart-sick. In the sense of my miserable condition, dreading the return of my distemper the next day; at night I made my supper of three of the turtle's eggs, which I roasted in the ashes, and ate, as we call it, in the shell; and this was the first bit of meat I had ever asked God a blessing to, that I could remember, in my whole life.

After I had eaten, I tried to walk, but found myself so weak, that I could hardly carry the gun (for I never went out without that); so I went but a little way, and sat down upon the ground, looking out upon the sea, which was just before me, and very calm and smooth. As I sat here, some such thoughts as those occurred to me:

What is the earth and sea, of which I have seen so much? Whence is it produced? And what am I, and all the other creatures, wild and tame, human and brutal, whence are we?

Such we are all made by some secret power, who formed the earth and sea, the air and sky; and who is that?

Then it followed most naturally: It is God that has made it all. Well, but then it came on strongly: If God has made all these things, he guides and governs them all, and all things that concern them; for the Being that could make all things, must certainly have power to guide and direct them.

If so, nothing can happen in the great circuit of his works, either without his knowledge or appointment.

And if nothing happens without his knowledge, he knows that I am here, and am in this dreadful condition; and if nothing happens without his appointment, he has appointed all this to befall me.

Nothing occurred to my thoughts to contradict any of these conclusions; and therefore it rested upon me with a greater force, that it must needs be, that God has

appointed all this to befall me; that I was brought to this miserable circumstance by his direction, he having the sole power, not of me only, but of everything that happened in the world. Immediately it followed:

Why has God done this to me? What have I done to be thus used?

My conscience presently checked me in that inquiry, as if I had blasphemed; and methought it spoke to me like a voice: Wretch, dost thou ask what thou hast done? Look back upon a dreadful mispent life, and ask thyself what thou hast done? Ask why is it that thou wert not long ago destroyed? Why wert thou not drowned in Yarmouth roads? killed in the fight when the ship was taken by the Saltee men of war? devoured by wild beasts on the coasts of Africa? or, drowned here, when all the crew perished but thyself? Dost thou ask, What have I done?

I was struck dumb with these reflections, as one astonished, and had not a word to say, no, not to answer myself; but rose up, pensive and sad, walked back to my retreat, and went up over my wall, as if I had been going to bed; but my thoughts were sadly disturbed, and I had no inclination to sleep; so I sat down in my chair and lighted my lamp, for it began to be dark. Now, as the apprehensions of the return of my distemper terrified me very much, it occurred to my thought that the Brazilians take no physic but their tobacco for almost all distempers; and I had a piece of roll of tobacco in one of the chests, which was quite cured, and some also that was green, and not quite cured.

I went, directed by Heaven, no doubt; for in this chest I found a cure for both soul and body. I opened the chest, and found what I looked for, viz.: the tobacco; and as the few books I had saved lay there too, I took out one of the Bibles which I had mentioned before, and which to this time, I had not found leisure, or so much as inclination, to look into; I say I took it out, and brought both that and the tobacco with me to the table.

What use to make of the tobacco I knew not, as to my distemper, or whether it was good for me or not; but I tried several experiments with it, as if I was resolved I should hit one way or other. I first took a piece of a leaf, and chewed it in my mouth, which indeed, at first almost stupefied my brain, the tobacco being green, and strong, and not having been much used to it; then I took some, and steeped it an hour or two in rum, and resolved to take a dose of it when I lay down; and lastly, I burnt some upon a pan of coals, and held my nose close over the smoke of it, as long as I could bear it, as well for the heat as the virtue of it, and held it, almost to suffocation.

In the interval of this operation, I took up the Bible, and began to read; but my head was too much disturbed with the tobacco to bear reading, at least at that time; only, having opened the book casually, the first words that occurred to me were these: "Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me."

The words were very apt to my case, and made some impression upon my thoughts at the time of reading them, though not so much as they did afterwards; for, as to being delivered, the word had no sound, as I may say, to me; the thing was so remote, so impossible in my apprehension of things, that I began to say as the children of Israel did, when they were promised flesh to eat, "Can God spread a table in the wilderness?" So I began to say, can God himself deliver me from this place? And as it was not for many years that any hope appeared, this prevailed very often upon my thoughts. But, however, the words made a great impression upon me, and I mused upon them very often. It grew now late, and the tobacco had, as I said, dozed my head so much, that I inclined to sleep; so I left my lamp burning in the cave, lest I should want anything in the night, and went to bed; but before I lay down, I did what I never had done in all my life, I kneeled down, and prayed to God to fulfill the promise made to me, that, if I called upon him in the day of trouble, he would deliver me. After my broken and imperfect prayer was over, I drank the rum in which I had steeped the tobacco, which was so strong and rank of the tobacco, that indeed I could scarce get it down. Immediately upon this I went to bed, and I found presently it flew up into my head violently; but I fell into a sound sleep, and waked no more, till by the sun, it must necessarily be near three o'clock in the afternoon, the next day; nay, to this hour, I am partly of the opinion that I slept all the next day and night, and till almost three the day after; for, otherwise, I knew not how I should lose a day out of my reckoning in the days of the week, as it appeared, some years after I had done; for if I had lost it by crossing and recrossing the line, I should have lost more than one day; but certainly, I lost a day in my account, and I never knew which way.

Be that as it may, one way or other, when I awoke I found myself exceedingly refreshed, and my spirits lively and cheerful. When I got up I was stronger than I was the day before, and much better; for I was hungry, and in short, I had no fit the next day, but continued much a-tired for the better. This was the 29th.

The 30th was my well day, of course, and I went abroad with my gun, but did not care to travel too far. I killed a sea-fowl or two, something like a brand-goose, and brought them home, but was not very forward to eat them; so I eat some more of the turtle's eggs, which were very good. This evening I renewed the medicine, which I had supposed did me good the day before, viz.: the tobacco steeped in rum, only I did not take so much as before, nor did I chew any of the leaf, or hold my head over the smoke. However, I was not so well the next day, which was the 1st of July, as I hoped I should have been; for I had a little spile of the cold fit, but it was not much.

July 2. I renewed the medicine all the three ways, and dozed myself with it as at first, and doubled the quantity which I drank.

July 3. I missed the fit for good and all, though I did not recover my full strength for some weeks after. While I was thus gathering strength, my thoughts ran exceedingly upon this Scripture, "I will deliver thee," and the impossibility of my deliverance lay much upon my mind,

in bar of my ever expecting it. But as I was discouraging myself with such thoughts, it occurred to my mind, that I pored so much upon my deliverance from the main affliction, that I disregarded the deliverance I had received; and as these, viz.: Have I not been delivered, such questions as these, from sickness: from the most distressed condition that could be, and that was so fruitful to me? And what notice had I taken of it? Had I done my part? God had delivered me; but I had not glorified him; that is to say, I had not owned and been thankful for that as a deliverance; and how could I expect greater deliverance?

This touched my heart very much, and immediately I kneeled down, and gave God thanks aloud, for my recovery from sickness.

July 4. In the morning, I took the Bible; and beginning at the New Testament, I began seriously to read it, and imposed upon myself to read every morning and every night, not tying myself to a number of chapters, but as long as my thoughts should engage me. It was not long after I set seriously to this work, but I found my heart more deeply and sincerely affected with the wickedness of my past life. The impression of a dream revived, and the words "All these things have not brought thee to repentance," ran seriously in my thoughts. I was earnestly begging of God to give me repentance, when it happened providentially, the very day, that reading the Scripture, I came to the words, "He is exalted a Prince, and a Saviour, to give repentance, and to give remission." I threw down the book, and, with my heart as well as my hands lifted up to Heaven, in a kind of ecstasy of joy, I cried out aloud: "Jesus, thou Son of David, Jesus, thou exalted Prince and Saviour, give me repentance!"

This was the first time that I could say, in the true sense of the word, that I prayed in all my life; for now I prayed with a sense of my condition, and with a true Scripture view of hope, founded on the encouragement of the word of God; and from this time, I may say, I began to have hope that God would hear me.

Now I began to construe the words mentioned above, "Call on me, and I will deliver you," in a different sense from what I had ever done before; for then I had no notion of anything being called deliverance, but my being delivered from the captivity I was in; for though I was indeed at large in the place, yet the island was certainly a prison to me, and that in the worst sense of the word; but now I learned to take it in another sense. Now, I looked back upon my past life with such horror, and my sins appeared so dreadful, that my soul sought nothing of God but deliverance from the load of guilt that bore down all my comfort. As for my solitary life it was nothing; I did not so much as pray to be delivered from it, or think of it; it was all of no consideration in comparison of this; and I add this part here, to hint to whoever shall read it that whenever they come to a true sense of things, they will find deliverance from sin a much greater blessing, than deliverance from affliction.

But, leaving this part, I return to my journal. My condition began now to be, though not less miserable as to my way of living, yet much easier to my mind; and my thoughts being directed, by a constant reading of the Scriptures, and praying to God, to things of a higher nature, I had a great deal of comfort within, which till now I knew nothing of. Also, as my health and strength returned, I bestirred myself to furnish myself with everything that I wanted, and make my way of living as regular as I could.

From the 4th of July to the 14th, I was chiefly employed in walking about with my gun in my hand, a little and a little at a time, as a man that was gathering up his strength after a fit of sickness; for it is hardly to be imagined how low I was, and to what weakness I was reduced. The application which I made use of was perfectly new, and perhaps what had never cured an ague before; neither can I recommend it to any one to practice, by this experiment; and though it did carry off the fit, yet it rather contributed to weaken me; for I had frequent convulsions in my nerves and limbs for some time.

I had now been in this unhappy island above ten months: all possibility of deliverance from this condition seemed to be entirely taken from me; and I firmly believed that no human shape had ever set foot upon that place. Having now secured my habitation, as I thought, fully to my mind, I had a great desire to make a more perfect discovery of the island, and to see what other productions I might find, which yet I knew nothing of.

It was the 15th of July that I began to make a more particular survey of the island itself. I went up the creek first, where, as I hinted, I brought my raft on shore. I found, after I came about two miles up, that the tide did not flow any higher, and that it was no more than a little brook of running water, and very fresh and good; but this being the dry season, there was hardly any water in some parts of it, at least not enough to run in any perceptible stream.

On the bank of this brook I found many pleasant savannas or meadows, plain, smooth, and covered with grass; and on the rising parts of the ground, next to the higher grounds, where the water, as it might be supposed, never overflowed, I found a great deal of tobacco, green, and growing to a great and very strong stalk. There were divers other plants, which I had no notion of, or understanding about; and might, perhaps, have virtue of their own, which I could not find out.

I searched for the Cassava root, which the Indians, in all that climate, make their bread of; but I could find none. I saw large plants of aloes, but did not then understand them. I saw several sugar-canes, but wild, and for want of cultivation, imperfect.

The next day, the 16th, I went up the same way again; and, after going something farther than I had gone the day before, I found the brook and the savannas began to cease, and the country became more woody than before. In this part I found different fruits, and particularly I found melons upon the ground, in great abundance, and grapes upon the trees: the vines had spread indeed over the trees, and the clusters of grapes were just now in



their prime, very ripe and rich. This was a surprising discovery, and I was exceedingly glad of them; but I was warned by my experience to eat sparingly of them, remembering that when I was ashore in Barbary, the eating of grapes killed several of our Englishmen, who were slaves there, by throwing them into fluxes and fevers; but I found an excellent use for these grapes; and that was to cure or dry them in the sun, and keep them as dried raisins are kept, which I thought would be, as indeed they were, as wholesome, and as agreeable to eat, when no grapes might be had.

I spent all that evening there, and went not back to my habitation, which, by the way, was the first night, as I might say, I had lain from home. In the night I took my first contrivance, and got up into a tree, where I slept well, and the next morning proceeded upon my discovery, travelling near four miles, as I might judge by the length of the valley, keeping still due north, with a ridge of hills on the north and south side of me.

At the end of this march, I came to an opening, where the country seemed to descend to the west; and a little spring of fresh water, which issued out of the side of the hill by me, ran the other way, that is, due east; and the country appeared so fresh, so green, so flourishing, everything being in constant verdure, or flourish of spring, that it looked like a planted garden.

I descended a little on the side of that delicious valley, surveying it with a secret kind of pleasure (though mixed with other afflicting thoughts), to think that this was all my own; that I was a king and lord of all this country infeasibly, and I had a right of possession; and, if I could convey it, I might have it in inheritance, as completely as any lord of a manor in England. I saw here abundance of cocoa trees; orange, and lemon, and citron trees; but all wild, and few bearing any fruit, at least not then. However, the green limes that I gathered were not only pleasant to eat, but very wholesome; and I mixed their juice afterwards with water, which made it very wholesome, and very cool and refreshing.

I found now I had business enough to gather and carry home; and I resolved to lay up a store, as well of grapes as limes and lemons, to furnish myself for the wet season, which I knew was approaching.

In order to do this, I gathered a great heap of grapes in one place, and a lesser heap in another place, and a great parcel of limes and lemons in another place; and taking a few of each with me, I travelled homeward, and resolved to come again, and bring a bag or sack, or what I could make, to carry the rest home.

Accordingly, having spent three days in my journey, I came home (so I must now call my tent and my cave); but, before I got thither, the grapes were spoiled; the richness of the fruit, and the weight of the juice, having broken them and bruised them, they were good for little or nothing; as to the limes, they were good, but I could bring but few.

The next day, being the 19th, I went back, having made me two small bags to bring home my harvest; but I was surprised, when coming to my heap of grapes, which were so rich and fine when I gathered them, I found them all spread abroad, trod to pieces, and dragged about, some here, some there, and abundance eaten and devoured. By this, I concluded there were some wild creatures thereabouts, which had done this; but what they were, I knew not.

However, as I found there was no laying them up on heaps, and no carrying them away in a sack; but that one way they would be destroyed, and the other way they would be crushed with their own weight, I took another course; for I gathered a large quantity of the grapes, and hung them upon the out-branches of the trees, that they might cure and dry in the sun; and as for the limes, and lemons, I carried as many back as I could well stand under.

When I came home from this journey, I contemplated, with great pleasure, the fruitfulness of that valley, and the pleasantness of the situation, the security from storms on that side of the water, and the wood; and concluding that I had pitched upon a place to fix my abode, which was, by far, the worst part of the country. Upon the whole, I began to consider of removing my habitation, and to look out for a place equally safe as where I now was situated, if possible, in that pleasant fruitful part of the island.

This thought ran long in my head, and I was exceeding fond of it for some time; the pleasantness of the place tempted me; but when I came to a nearer view of it, and to consider that I was now by the sea-side, where it was at least possible that something might happen to my advantage, and that the same ill fate which brought me hither, might bring some other unhappy wretches to the same place; and though it was scarce probable that any such thing should ever happen, yet, to enclose myself among the hills and woods, was to render such an affair not only improbable, but impossible; and that therefore I ought not, by any means to remove.

However, I was so enamoured with this place, that I spent much of my time there, for the whole remaining part of the month of July; and though, upon second thoughts, I resolved as above, not to remove, yet I built me a little kind of a bower, and surrounded it at a distance with a strong fence, being a double hedge, as high as I could reach, well staked and filled between with brushwood; and here I lay very secure, sometimes two or three nights together, always going over it with a ladder, as before, so that I fancied now I had my country house, and my sea-coast house; and this work took me up to the beginning of August.

I had but newly finished my fence, and began to enjoy my labour, when the rains came on, and made me stick close to my first habitation; for though I had made me a tent like the other, with a piece of a sail, and spread it very well, yet I had not the shelter of a hill to keep me from storms, nor a cave behind me to retreat into, when the rains were extraordinary.

About the beginning of August, as I said, I had finished my bower, and began to enjoy myself. The 3d of August, I found the grapes I had hung up were perfectly dried, and indeed were excellent good raisins of the sun; so I began to take them down from the trees; and it was very happy that I did so, for the rains which followed

would have spoiled them, and I had lost the best part of my winter food; for I had above two hundred large bunches of them. No sooner had I taken them all down, and carried most of them home to my cave, but it began to rain; and from hence, which was the 14th of August, it rained more or less every day till the middle of October; and sometimes so violently, that I could not stir out of my cave for several days.

In this season, I was much surprised with the increase of my family. I had been concerned for the loss of one of my cats, who ran away from me, or, as I thought, had been dead; and I heard no more tale or tidings of her, till, to my astonishment, she came home about the end of August with three kittens.

This was the more strange to me, because, though I had killed a wild cat, as I called it, with my gun, yet I thought it was quite a different kind from our European cats; yet the young cats were the same kind of house-breed, like the old one; and both my cats being females, I thought it very strange. But from these three cats I afterwards came to be so pestered with cats, that I was forced to kill them like vermin, or wild beasts, and to drive them from my house as much as possible.

From the 14th of August to the 26th, incessant rain, so that I could not stir, and was now very careful not to be much wet. In this confinement I began to be straitened for food; but ventured out twice, and one day killed a goat; and the last day, which was the 30th, found a very large tortoise, which was a treat to me; and my food was regulated thus: I eat a bunch of raisins for my breakfast; a piece of the goat's flesh, or of the turtle, for my dinner broiled, (for, to my great misfortune, I had no vessel to boil or stew anything,) and two or three of the turtle's eggs for supper.

During this confinement in my cover by the rain, I worked daily two or three hours at enlarging my cave; and, by degrees, worked it on towards one side, till I came to the outside of the hill, and made a door or way out, which came beyond my fence or wall, and so I came in and out this way. But I was not perfectly easy at laying so open; for, as I had managed myself before, I was in a perfect enclosure, whereas now, I thought I lay exposed; and yet, I could not perceive that there was any living thing to fear, the biggest creature that I had yet seen upon the island, being a goat.



September the 30th. I was now come to the unhappy anniversary of my landing. I cast up the notches on my post, and found I had been on shore three hundred and sixty-five days. I kept this day as a solemn fast, setting it apart to religious exercise, prostrating myself on the ground with the most serious humiliation, confessed my sins to God, acknowledging his righteous judgments upon me, and praying to him to have mercy on me, through Jesus Christ; and not having tasted the least refreshment for twelve hours, even till the going down of the sun, I then eat a biscuit cake, and a bunch of grapes, and went to bed, finishing the day as I began it.

I had all this time observed no Sabbath-day; for as at first I had no sense of religion upon my mind, I had, after some time omitted to distinguish the weeks, by making a longer notch than ordinary for the Sabbath-day, and so did not really know what any of the days were; but now having cast up the days as above, I found I had been there a year, so I divided it into weeks, and set apart every seventh day for a Sabbath; though I found at the end of my account, I lost a day or two in my reckoning.

A little after this my ink began to fail me, and so I contented myself to use it more sparingly, and to write down only the most remarkable events of my life, without continuing a daily memorandum of other things.

I mentioned before, that I had a great mind to see the whole island, and that I had travelled up the brook, and so on to where I had built my bower, and where I had an opening quite to the sea, on the other side of the island. I now resolved to have quite access to the sea-shore on that side; so taking my gun, a hatchet, and my dog, and a larger quantity of powder and shot than usual, with two biscuit cakes, and a great bunch of raisins in my pouch, for my store, I began my journey. When I had passed the vale where my bower stood, as above, I came in view of the sea, to the west; and it being a very clear day, I fairly descried land, whether an island or a continent, I could not tell; but it lay very high, extending from the west, to the W. S. W., at a very great distance; by my guess it could not be less than fifteen or twenty leagues off.

I could not tell what part of the world this might be, otherwise than that I knew that it must be part of America; and, as I concluded, by all my observations, must be near the Spanish dominions, and perhaps was all inhabited by savages, where, if I should have landed, I had

been in a worse condition than I was now; and therefore I acquiesced in the dispositions of Providence, which I began now to own, and to believe, ordered everything for the best; I say, I quiesced my mind with this, and left afflicting my mind with fruitless wishes of being there.

Besides, after some pause upon this affair, I considered, that if this land was the Spanish coast, I should some time or other see some vessels pass or repass one way or other; but if not, then it was the savage coast between the Spanish country and Brazil, which were indeed the worst of savages, for they are cannibals, or men-eaters, and fall not to murder and devour all the human bodies that fall into their hands.



With these considerations I walked very leisurely forward. I found that side of the island where I now was much pleasanter than mine, the open or savanna fields sweet, adorned with flowers and grass, and full of very fine woods. I saw abundance of parrots, and fain would I have caught one, if possible, to have kept it to be tame, and taught it to speak to me. I did, after some pains taken, catch a young parrot; for I knocked it down with a stick, and having recovered it, I brought it home, but it was some years before I could make him speak. However, at last I taught him to call me by my name, very familiar. But the accident that followed, though it be a trifle, will be very diverting in its place.

I was exceedingly diverted with this journey. I found in the low grounds, hares, as I thought them to be, and 'boes, but they differed greatly from all other kinds I had met with; nor could I satisfy myself to eat them, though I killed several. But I had no need to be venturesome, for I had no want of food, and of that which was very good, too; especially these three sorts, viz.: goats, pigeons, and turtle or tortoise, which, added to my grapes, Leadenhall market could not have furnished a table better than I, in proportion to the company. And though my case was deplorable enough, yet I had great cause for thankfulness, that I was not driven to any extremities for food, but had rather plenty, even to dainties.

I never travelled in this journey above two miles outright in a day, or thereabouts; but I took so many turns and returns, to see what discoveries I could make, that I came weary enough to the place where I resolved to sit down for all night; and then I either reposed myself in a tree, or surrounded myself with a row of stakes set upright in the ground, from one tree to another, so as no wild creature could come at me without waking me.

As soon as I came to the sea-shore, I was surprised to see that I had taken up my lot on the worst side of the island; for here indeed the shore was covered with innumerable turtles; whereas on the other side I had found out three in a year and a half. Here was also an infinite number of fowls of many kinds, some of which I had seen, and some of which I had not seen before, and many of them very good meat; but such as I knew not the names of, except those called penguins.

I could have shot as many as I pleased, but was very sparing of my powder and shot; and therefore had more mind to kill a she-goat, if I could, which I could better feed on. And though there were many goats here more than on my side of the island, yet it was with much more difficulty that I could come near them, the country being flat and even, and they saw me much sooner than when I was on the hills.

I confess this side of the country much pleasanter than mine, but yet I had not the least inclination to remove; for, as I was fixed in my habitation, it became natural to me; and I seemed all the while I was here, to be, as it were, upon a journey, and from home. However, I travelled along the shore of the sea, towards the east, I suppose about twelve miles; and then, setting up a great pole upon the shore, for a mark, I concluded I would go home again; and that the next journey I took, should be on the other side of the island, east from my dwelling, and so round, till I came to my post again; of which in its place.

I took another way to come back than that I went, thinking I could easily keep all the island so much in my view, that I could not miss finding my first dwelling, by viewing the country; but I found myself mistaken; for, being come about two or three miles, I found myself descended into a very large valley, but so surrounded with hills, and those hills covered with woods, that I could not see which was my way by any direction but that of the sun, nor even then, unless I knew very well the position of the sun at that time of the day.

It happened to my farther misfortune, that the weather proved hazy for three or four days, while I was in this valley; and, not being able to see the sun, I wandered



about very uncomfortable, and at last was obliged to find out the sea-side, look for my post, and come back the same way I went; and then, by easy journeys, I turned homeward, the weather being exceedingly hot, and my gun, ammunition, hatchet, and other things, very heavy.

In this journey my dog surprised a young kid, and seized upon it; and I, running in to take hold of it, caught it, and saved it alive from the dog. I had a great mind to bring it home, if I could; for I had often been musing whether it might not be possible to get a kid or two, and to raise a breed of tame goats, which might supply me when my powder and shot should be all spent.

I made a collar to this little creature, and with a string which I made of some rope-yarn, which I always carried about me, I led him along, though with some difficulty, till I came to my bower, and there I enclosed him, and left him; for I was very impatient to be at home, from whence I had been absent above a month.

I cannot express what a satisfaction it was to me to come into my old hut, and lie down in my hammock bed. This little wandering journey, without any settled place of abode, had been so unpleasant to me, that my own house, as I called it to myself, was a perfect settlement to me, compared to that; and it rendered every thing about me so comfortable, that I resolved I would never go a great way from it again, while it should be my lot to stay on the island.

I reposed myself here a week, to rest and regale myself after my long journey, during which most of the time was taken up in the weighty affair of making a cage for my poll, who began now to be a mere domestic, and to be mightily well acquainted with me. Then I began to think of the poor kid, which I had pent in within my little circle, and resolved to go and fetch it home, or give it some food: accordingly I went, and found it where I left it, for indeed it could not get out, but was almost starved for want of food. I went and cut boughs of trees, and branches of such shrubs as I could find, and threw it over and having fed it, I tied it as I did before, to lead it away; but it was so tame, with being hungry, that I had no need to have tied it, for it followed me like a dog; and as I continually fed it, the creature became so loving, so gentle, and so fond, that it was from that time one of my domestics, also, and would never leave me afterwards.

The rainy season of the autumnal equinox was now come, and I kept the 30th of September in the same solemn manner as before, being the anniversary of my landing on the island, having now been there two years, and no more prospect of being delivered than the first day I came there. I spent the whole day in humble and thankful acknowledgments of the many wonderful mercies which my solitary condition was attended with, and without which it might have been infinitely more miserable. I gave humble thanks that God had been pleased to discover to me, even that it was possible I might be more happy in this solitary condition, than I should have been in a liberty of society, and in all the pleasures of the world; that he could fully make up to me the deficiencies of my solitary state, and the want of human society, by his presence, and the communications of his grace to my soul, supporting, comforting, and encouraging me to depend upon his providence here, and hope for his eternal presence hereafter.

It was now that I began sensibly to feel how much more happy the life I now led was, with all its miserable circumstances, than the wicked, cursed, abominable life I led all the past part of my days; and now having changed both my sorrows and my joys, my very desires altered, my affections changed their guests, and my delights were perfectly new, from what they were at my first coming, or indeed for the two years past.

Before, as I walked about, either on my hunting, or for viewing the country, the anguish of my soul at my condition would break out upon me on a sudden, and my very heart would die within me, to think of the woods, the mountains, the deserts I was in; and how I was a prisoner locked up with the eternal bars and bolts of the ocean, in an uninhabited wilderness, without redemption. In the midst of the greatest compassions of mind, this would break out upon me, like a storm, and make me wring my hands, and weep like a child. Sometimes it would take me in the middle of my work, and I would immediately sit down and sigh, and look upon the ground for an hour or two together, and this was still worse to me; for if I could burst out into tears, or vent myself by words, it would go off, and the grief, having exhausted itself, would abate.

But now I began to exercise myself with new thoughts. I daily read the word of God, and applied all the comforts of it to my present state. One morning, being very sad, I opened the Bible upon these words, "I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee!" Immediately it occurred, that these words were to me; why else should they be directed in such a manner, just at the moment I was mourning over my condition, as one forsaken of God and man! "Well, then," said I, "if God does not forsake me, of what ill consequence can it be, or what matters it, though the world should all forsake me, seeing, on the other hand, if I had all the world, and should lose the favor and blessing of God, there would be no comparison in the loss!"

From this moment I began to conclude in my mind that it was possible for me to be more happy in this forsaken, solitary condition, than it was probable I should have been in any other particular state in the world; and with this thought, I was going to give thanks to God for bringing me to this place.

I was now in the months of November and December, expecting my crop of barley and rice. The ground I had manured or dug up for them was not great; for my seed of each was not above the quantity of half a peck, for I had lost one whole crop by sowing in the dry season, but now my crop promised very well, when, on a sudden, I found I was in danger of losing it all again, by enemies of several sorts, which it was scarcely possible to keep from it; as first, the goats, and wild creatures which I called hares, who, tasting the sweetness of the blade, lay

in it night and day, as soon as it came up, and ate it so close that it could get no time to shoot up into stalk.

This I saw no remedy for, but by making an enclosure about it with a hedge, which I did with a great deal of toil, and the more because it required speed, the creatures daily spoiling my corn. However, as my arable land was but small, suited to my crop, I got it tolerably well fenced in about three weeks' time; and shooting some of the creatures in the day-time, I set my dog to guard it in the night, tying him up to a stake at the gate, where he would stand and bark all night long; so, in a little time, the enemies forsook the place, and the corn grew very strong and well, and began to ripen apace.

But, as the beasts ruined me before, while my corn was in the blade, so the birds were likely to ruin me now, when it was in the ear; for going along by the place to see how it thrived, I saw my little crop surrounded with fowls, of I know not how many sorts, who stood, as it were, watching till I should be gone. I immediately let fly among them (for I always had my gun with me). I had no sooner shot, but there rose up a little cloud of fowls, which I had not seen at all, from among the corn itself.



This touched me sensibly: for I foresaw that, in a few days, they would devour all my hopes; that I should be starved, and never be able to raise a crop at all; and what to do I could not tell. However, I resolved not to lose my corn, if possible, though I should watch it night and day. In the first place, I went among it to see what damage was already done, and found they had spoiled a good deal of it; but that, as it was yet too green for them, the loss was not so great, but that the remainder was likely to be a good crop, if it could be saved.

I staid by it to load my gun, and then coming away, I could easily see the thieves sitting upon all the trees about me, as if they only waited till I was gone away, and the event proved it to be so; for as I walked off as if I were gone, I was no sooner out of their sight, but they dropped down, one by one, into the corn again. I was so provoked, that I could not have patience to stay till more came on, knowing that every grain that they eat now, was, as might be said, a peck loaf to me in the consequences; but, coming up to the hedge, I fired again, and killed three of them. This was what I wished for; so I took them up, and served them as we serve notorious thieves in England, viz., hanging them in chains for a terror to others. It is almost impossible to imagine that this should have such an effect as it had: for the fowls would not only not come at the corn, but, in short, they forsook all that part of the island, and I could never see a bird near the place as long as my scarecrows hung there.

This I was very glad of, you may be sure; and, about the latter end of December, which was our second harvest of the year, I reaped my crop.

I was sadly put to it for a scythe, or a sickle, to cut it down, and all I could do was to make one as well as I could, out of one of the broad-swords, or cutlasses, which I saved among the arms out of the ship. However, as my crop was but small, I had no great difficulty to cut it down. In short, I reaped it my way; for I cut nothing off but the ears, and carried it away in a great basket which I had made, and so rubbed it out with my hands. And at the end of all my harvesting, I found that out of my half peck of seed, I had near two bushels of rice, and above two bushels and a half of barley; that is to say, by my guess, for I had no measure at that time.

However, this was a great encouragement to me; and I foresaw that, in time, it would please God to supply me with bread. And yet here I was perplexed again, for I neither knew how to grind or make meal of my corn, or indeed how to clean it, and part it; nor, if made into meal, how to make bread for it. I knew not how to bake it. These things being added to my desire of having a good quantity for store, and to secure a constant supply, I resolved not to taste any of this crop, but to preserve it all for seed against the next season, and, in the meantime, to employ all my study and hours of working to accomplish this great work of providing myself with corn and bread.

When my corn was growing and grown, I have observed how many things I wanted to fence it, secure it, mow or reap it, cure and carry it home, thresh, part it from the chaff, and save it. Then I wanted a mill to grind it, sieves to dress it, yeast and salt to make it into bread, and an oven to bake it in; and yet all these things I did without, as shall be observed; and the corn was an inestimable comfort and advantage to me too. All this, as I said, made everything laborious and tedious to me, but that there was no help for it: neither was my time so much lost to me, because as I had divided it, a certain part of it was every day appointed to these works; and, as I resolved to use none of the corn for bread till I had a greater quantity by me, I had the next six months to apply myself wholly by labor and invention to furnish myself with utensils proper for the performing all the operations necessary for the making the corn, when I had it fit for my use.

But first, I was to prepare more land, for I had now seed enough to sow above an acre of ground. Before I did this,

I had a week's work at least to make me a spade, which, when it was done, was but a sorry one indeed, and very heavy, and required double labor to work with it. However, I went through that, and sowed my seed in two large flat pieces of ground, as near my house as I could find them to my mind, and fenced them in with a good hedge, the stakes of which were all cut of that wood which I had set before, which I knew would grow; so that, in one year's time, I knew I should have a quick or living hedge, that would want but little repair. This work was not so little as to take me up less than three months, because great part of that time was of the wet seasons, when I could not go abroad.

Within-doors, that is, when it rained, and I could not go out, I found employment on the following occasions: always observing, that all the while I was at work, I diverted myself with talking to my parrot, and teaching him to speak; and I quickly taught him to know his own name, at last to speak it out pretty loud, "Poll!" which was the first word I had ever heard spoken in the island by any mouth but my own. This, therefore, was not my work, but an assistant to my work; for now, as I said, I had a great employment upon my hands, as follows, viz., I had long studied, by some means or other, to make myself some earthen vessels, which indeed I wanted sorely, but knew not where to come at them. However, considering the heat of the climate, I did not doubt but, if I could find out any such clay, I might botch up some such pot as might, being dried in the sun, be hard enough, and strong enough, to bear handling, and to hold anything that was dry, and required to be kept so; and as this was necessary in preparing corn, meal, &c., which was the thing I was upon, I resolved to make some as large as I could, and fit only to stand like jars to hold what should be put in them.

It would make the reader pity me, or rather laugh at me, to tell how many awkward ways I took to raise this paste; what odd, misshapen, ugly things I made; how many of them fell in, and how many fell out, the clay not being stiff enough to bear its own weight; how many cracked by the over-violent heat of the sun, being set out too hastily; and how many fell to pieces with only removing, as well before as after they were dried; and, in a word, how, after having labored hard to find the clay, to dig it, to temper it, to bring it home and work it, I could not make above two large, earthen, ugly things, I cannot call them jars, in about two months' labor.

However, as the sun baked these two very dry and hard, I lifted them very gently up, and set them down again in two great wicker-baskets, which I had made on purpose for them, that they might not break; and as between the pot and the basket there was a little room to spare, I stuffed it full of the rice and barley straw; and these two pots, being to stand always dry, I thought would hold my dry corn, and perhaps the rice, when the corn was bruised.

Though I mislaid so much in my design for large pots, yet I made several smaller things with better success; such as little round pots, flat dishes, pitchers, and pipkins, and anything my hand turned to; and the heat of the sun baked them extremely hard.

But all this would not answer my end, which was to get an earthen pot to hold what was liquid, and bear the fire, which none of these could do. It happened after some time, making a pretty large fire for cooking my meat, when I went to put it out, after I had done with it, I found a broken piece of one of my earthenware vessels in the fire, burnt as hard as a stone, and red as a tile. I was agreeably surprised to see it, and said to myself, that certainly they might be made to burn whole, if they would burn broken.

This set me to study how to order my fire, so as to make it burn me some pots. I had no notion of a kiln, such as the potters burn in, or of glazing them with lead, though I had some lead to do it with; but I placed three large pipkins, and two or three pots, in a pile one upon another, and placed my fire-wood all round it with a great heap of embers under them. I piled the fire with fresh fuel round the outside, and upon the tow, till I saw the pots in the inside red-hot quite through, and observed they did not crack at all. When I saw them a clear red, I let them stand in that heat about five or six hours, till I found one of them, though it did not crack, did melt or run; for the sand which was mixed with the clay melted with the violence of the heat, and would have run into glass, if I had gone on; so I slackened my fire gradually, till the pots began to abate of the red color, and watching them all night, that I might not let the fire abate too fast, in the morning I had three very good, I will not say handsome pipkins, and two other earthen pots, as hard burnt as could be desired; and one of them perfectly glazed with the running of the sand.

After this experiment, I need not say that I wanted no sort of earthenware for my use; but I must needs say, as to the shapes of them, they were very indifferent, as any one may suppose, when I had no way of making them, but as the children make dirt-pies, or as a woman would make pies that never learnt to raise paste.

No joy at a thing of so mean a nature was ever equal to mine, when I found I had made an earthen pot that would bear the fire; and I had hardly patience to stay till they were cold, before I set one upon the fire again, with some water in it, to hold me some meat, which it did admirably well; and, with a piece of kid, I made some very good broth, though I wanted oatmeal, and several other ingredients requisite to make it as good as I would have had it.

My next concern was to get me a stone mortar to stamp or beat some corn in; for as to the mill, there was no thought of arriving to that perfection of art with one pair of hands. To supply this want I was at a great loss; for, of all trades in the world, I was as perfectly unqualified for a stone-cutter, as for anything whatever: neither had I any tools to go about it with. I spent many a day to find out a great stone big enough to cut hollow, and make it for a mortar, and could find none at all, except what was in the solid rock, and which I had no way to dig or cut out; nor indeed were the rocks in the island of hardness sufficient, but were of a sandy, crumbling stone, which would neither bear the weight of a heavy pestle,



nor would break the corn without filling it with sand. So, after a great deal of time lost in searching for a stone, I gave it over, and resolved to look for a great block of hard wood, which I found indeed much easier; and getting one as big as I had strength to stir, I rounded it, and formed it on the outside with my axe and hatchet; and then, with the help of fire, and infinite labor, made a hollow place in it, as the Indians in Brazil make their canoes. After this I made a great heavy pestle or beater, of the wood called the iron-wood, and this I prepared and laid by against I had my next crop of corn, when I proposed to myself to grind, or rather pound, my corn into meal, to make my bread.

My next difficulty was to make a sieve, or scarce, to dress my meal, and to part it from the bran and the husk, without which I did not see it possible I could have any bread. This was a most difficult thing, so much as but to think on; for, to be sure, I had nothing like the necessary thing to make it with, I mean fine, thin canvass, or stuff to scarce the meal through. And here I was at a full stop for many months; nor did I really know what to do. Lined I had none left, but what was mere rage. I had goat's hair, but neither knew I how to weave or spin it; and had I known how, here were no tools to work it with; all the remedy that I found for this, was, that at last I did remember I had, among the seamen's clothes, which were saved out of the ship, some neckcloths of calico or muslin; and with some pieces of these, I made three small sieves, but proper enough for the work; and thus I made shift for some years. How I did afterwards, I shall show in its place.

The baking part was the next thing to be considered, and how I should make bread when I came to have corn; for, first, I had no yeast. As to that part, as there was no supplying the want, so I did not concern myself much about it; but for an oven, I was indeed in great pain. At length I found out an expedient for that also, which was this: I made some earthen vessels, very broad, but not deep—that is to say, about two feet diameter, and not above nine inches deep; these I burnt in the fire, as I had done the other, and laid them by, and when I wanted to bake, I made a great fire upon my hearth, which I had paved with some square tiles, of my own making and burning, also; but I should not call them square.

When the fire-wood was burnt pretty much into embers, or live coals, I drew them forward upon this hearth so as to cover it all over; and there I let them lie, till the hearth was very hot; then sweeping away all the embers, I set down my loaf, or loaves, and wheeling down the earthen pot upon them, drew the embers all round the outside of the pot to keep in, and add to the heat; and thus, as well as in the best oven in the world, I baked my barley-loaves, and became, in a little time, a good pastry-cook into the bargain; for I made myself several cakes of the rice, and puddings; indeed, I made no pie, neither had I anything to put into them, supposing I had, except the flesh either of fowls or goats.

It need not be wondered at, if all these things took me up most part of the third year of my abode here; for it is to be observed, that, in the intervals of these things, I had my new harvest and husbandry to manage, for I reaped my corn in its season, and carried it home as well as I could, and laid it up in the ear, in my large baskets, till I had time to rub it out; for I had no floor to thresh it on, or instrument to thresh it with.

And now indeed my stock of corn increasing, I really wanted to build my barns bigger. I wanted a place to lay it up in; for the increase of the corn now yielded me so much, that I had of barley about twenty bushels, and of the rice as much or more; inasmuch that now I resolved to begin to use it freely, for my bread had been quite gone a great while; also I resolved to see what quantity would be sufficient for me a whole year, and to sow but once a year.

Upon the whole, I found that the forty bushels of barley and rice were much more than I could consume in a year; so I resolved to sow just the same quantity every year that I sowed the last, in hopes that such a quantity would fully provide me with bread, &c.

All the while these things were doing, you may be sure my thoughts ran many times upon the prospect of land, which I had seen from the other side of the island; and I was not without secret wishes that I were on shore there, fancying that seeing the main land, and an inhabited country, I might find some way or other to convey myself farther, and perhaps at last find some means of escape.

But all this while I made no allowance for the dangers of such a condition, and how I might fall into the hands of savages, and perhaps such as I might have reason to think far worse than the lions and tigers of Africa; if I once came into their power, I should run a hazard more than a thousand to one of being killed, and perhaps of being eaten; for I had heard, that the people of the Caribbean coast were cannibals, or men-eaters; and I knew by the latitude, that I could not be far off from that shore; that, suppose they were not cannibals, yet they might kill me, as many Europeans who had fallen into their hands had been served, even when they had been ten or twenty together; much more I, that was but one, and could make little or no defense. All these things I say, which I ought to have considered well of, and did cast up in my thoughts afterwards, yet took up none of my apprehensions at first; and my head ran mightily upon the thought of getting over to that shore.

Now I wished for my boy Xury, and the long-boat, with the shoulder-of-mutton sail, with which I sailed above a thousand miles on the coast of Africa; but this was in vain. Then I thought I would go and look at our ship's boat, which, as I have said, was blown up upon the shore, a great way, in the storm, when we were first cast away. She lay almost where she did at first, but not quite; and was turned, by the force of the waves and the winds, almost bottom upwards, against a high ridge of beachy, rough sand, but no water about her, as before.

If I had had hands to have refitted her, and to have launched her into the water, the boat would have done well enough, and I might have gone back into the Brazils with her easily enough; but I might have easily foreseen that I could no more turn her, and set her upright upon her bottom, than I could remove the island. However, I

went to the woods, and cut levers and rollers, and brought them to the boat, resolved to try what I could do, suggesting to myself, that if I could but turn her down, I might easily repair the damage she had received, and she would be a very good boat, and I might go to sea in her very easily.

I spared no pains indeed in this piece of fruitless toil, and spent, I think, three or four weeks about it; at last, finding it impossible to heave it up with my little strength, I fell to digging away the sand to undermine it, and so to make it fall down, setting pieces of wood to thrust and guide it right in the fall.

But when I had done this, I was unable to stir it up again, or get under it, much less to move it forward towards the water; so I was forced to give it over; and yet, though I gave over the hope of the boat, my desire to venture over for the main increased, rather than decreased, as the means for it seemed impossible.

This at length set me upon thinking, whether it was not possible to make myself a canoe, or periagua, such as the natives of those climates make; even without tools, or, as I might say, without hands, viz.: of the trunk of a great tree. This I not only thought possible, but easy; and pleased myself extremely with the thoughts of making it, and with my having much more convenience for it than any of the negroes or Indians, but not at all considering the particular inconveniences which I lay under more than the Indians did, viz.: want of hands to move it into the water, when it was made; a difficulty much harder for me to surmount, than all the consequences of want of tools could be to them; for what was it to me, that when I had chosen a vast tree in the woods, I might with great trouble cut it down, if after I might be able with my tools to hew and dib the outside into the proper shape of a boat, and burn or cut out the inside to make it hollow, so to make a boat of it, if, after all this, I must leave it just where I found it, and was not able to launch it into the water?

One would have thought, I could not have had the least affection upon my mind of my circumstances, while I was making this boat, but I should have immediately thought how I should get it into the sea; but my thoughts were so intent upon my voyage over the sea in it, that I never once considered how I should get it off the land; and it was really, in its own nature, more easy for me to slide it over forty-five miles of sea, than about forty-five fathom of land, where it lay, to set it afloat in the water.



I went to work upon this boat the most like a fool that ever man did who had any of his senses awake. I pleased myself with the design, without determining whether I was ever able to undertake it; not but that the difficulty of launching my boat came often into my head; but it put a stop to my own inquiries into it, by this foolish answer, which I gave myself; "Let me first make it; I'll warrant I'll find some way or other to get it along, when it is done."

This was a preposterous method; but the eagerness of my fancy prevailed, and to work I went, and felled a cedar-tree. I question much whether Solomon ever had such a one for the building the temple of Jerusalem; it was 5 feet 10 inches diameter, at the lower part next the stump, and 4 feet 11 inches diameter, at the end of 22 feet; after which it lessened for a while, and then parted into branches. It was not without infinite labor that I felled this tree. I was twenty days hacking and hewing it at the bottom. I was fourteen more getting the branches and limbs, and the vast spreading head of it cut off, which I hacked and hewed through with my axe and hatchet, and inexpressible labor. After this it cost me a month to shape it, and dub it to a proportion, and to something like the bottom of a boat, that it might swim upright as it ought to do. It cost me near three months more to clear the inside, and work it out so as to make an exact boat of it. This I did indeed without fire, by mere mallet and chisel, and by the dint of hard labor, till I had brought it to be a very handsome periagua, and big enough to have carried six-and-twenty men, and consequently big enough to have carried me and all my cargo.

When I had gone through this work, I was extremely delighted with it. The boat was really much bigger than I ever saw a canoe, or a periagua, that was made of one tree, in my life; many a weary stroke it had cost, you may be sure, and there remained nothing but to get it into the water; and had I gotten it into the water, I make no question but I should have begun the maddest voyage, and the most unlikely to be performed, that ever was undertaken.

But all my devices to get it into the water failed me, though they cost me infinite labor too; it lay about 100 yards from the water, and not more; but the first inconvenience was, it was uphill toward the creek. Well, to take away this discouragement, I resolved to dig into the surface of the earth, and so make a declivity. This I began, and it cost me a great deal of pains; but who grudge pains that have their deliverance in view?

But when this was worked through, and this difficulty managed, it was still much the same; for I could no more stir the canoe; than I could the other boat.

Then I measured the distance of ground, and resolved, to cut a dock, or canal, to bring the water up to the canoe, seeing that I could not bring the canoe down to the water. Well, I began this work, and when I began to enter into it, and calculated how deep it was to be dug, how broad, how the stuff was to be thrown out, I found that, by the number of hands I had, being none but my own, it must have been ten or twelve years before I should have gone through with it; for the shore lay high, so that at the upper end it must have been at least twenty feet deep; so at length, though with great reluctance, I gave this attempt over also.

This grieved me heartily; and now I saw, though too late, the folly of beginning a work before we count the cost, and before we judge rightly of our own strength to go through with it.

In the middle of this work, I finished my fourth year in this place, and kept my anniversary with the same devotion and with as much comfort, as ever before; for by a constant study, and a serious application of the word of God, and by the assistance of his grace I gained a different knowledge from what I had before. I entertained different notions of things. I looked now upon the world as a thing remote, which I had nothing to do with, no expectation from, and indeed no desire about; in a word, I had nothing indeed to do with it, nor was ever like to have, so I thought it looked, as we perhaps may look upon it hereafter, viz.: as a place I had lived in, but was come out of it; and well might I say as father Abraham to Dives, "Between me and thee is a great gulf fixed."

In the first place, I was removed from all the wickedness of the world here. I had neither the "lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, nor the pride of life." I had nothing to covet; for I had all I was capable of enjoying; I was lord of the whole manor, or, if I pleased, I might call myself King or emperor over the whole country which I had possession of. There were no rivals. I had no competitor; none to dispute sovereignty or command with me. I might have raised ship-loads of corn, but I had no use for it, so I let as little grow as I thought enough for my occasion. I had tortoises or turtles enough; but now and then one was as much as I could put to any use. I had timber enough to have built a fleet of ships. I had grapes enough to have made wine, or to have cured into raisins, to have loaded that fleet when they had been built.

But all that I could make use of, was all that was valuable. I had enough to eat, and to supply my wants, and what was all the rest to me? If I killed more flesh than I could eat, the dog must eat it, or the vermin. If I sowed more corn than I could eat, it must be spoiled. The trees that I cut down were lying to rot on the ground. I could make no more use of them than for fuel; and that I had no occasion for, but to dress my food.

These reflections made me very sensible of the goodness of Providence to me, and very thankful for my present condition, with all its hardships and misfortunes.

Thus I lived mighty comfortably, my mind being entirely composed, by resigning to the will of God, and throwing myself wholly upon the disposal of his providence. This made my life better than sociable; for when I began to regret the want of conversation, I would ask myself, whether thus conversing actually with my own thoughts, and, as I hope I may say, with even my Maker, by ejaculations and petitions, was not better than the utmost enjoyment of human society in the world?

I cannot say that after this, for five years, any extraordinary thing happened to me; but I lived on in the posture and place just as before. The chief thing I was employed in, besides my yearly labor of planting my barley and rice, and curing my raisins, of both which I always kept up just enough to have sufficient stock of one year's provisions before-hand; I say, besides this yearly labor, and my daily labor of going out with my gun, I had one labor to make me a canoe, which at last I finished. So that by digging a canal to it six feet wide and four feet deep, I brought it into the creek, almost half a mile. As for the first, that was so vastly big, as I made it without considering before-hand as I ought to do, how I should be able to launch it, so never being able to bring it to the water, or bring the water to it, I was obliged to let it lie where it was, as a memorandum to teach me to be wiser next time. Indeed, the next time, though I could not get a tree proper for it, and was in a place where I could not get the water to it, at any less distance than, as I have said, of nearly half a mile, yet as I saw it was practicable at last, I never gave it over; and though I was near two years about it, yet I never grudged my labor, in hopes of having a boat to go off to sea in at last.

However, though my little periagua was finished, yet the size of it was not at all answerable to the design which I had in view, when I made the first, I mean of venturing over to the terra firma, where it was above forty miles broad; accordingly, the smallness of my boat assisted to put an end to that design, and now I thought no more of it. But as I had a boat, my next design was to make a tour round the island; for as I had been on the other side in one place, crossing as I have already described it, over the land, so the discoveries I made in that journey made me very eager to see other parts of the coast; and now I had a boat, I thought of nothing but sailing round the island.

For this purpose, and that I might do everything with discretion and consideration, I fitted up a little mast to my boat, and made a sail to it out of some of the pieces of the ship's sail, which lay in store, and of which I had a great stock by me.

Having fitted my mast and sail, and tried the boat, I found she would sail very well. Then I made little lockers or boxes at either end of my boat, to put provisions, necessaries, and ammunition, &c. into, to be kept dry, either from rain or the spray of the sea, and a little long hollow place I cut in the inside of the boat, where I could lay my gun, making a flap to hang over it to keep it dry.

I fixed an umbrella of my own manufacture also in a step of the stern, like a mast, to stand over my head, and



to keep the heat of the sun off me, like an awning; and thus I every now and then took a little voyage upon the sea, but never went far out, nor far from the little creek



I was something impatient to have the use of my boat, though very loath to run any hazards; and therefore sometimes I sat contriving ways to get her about the island, and at other times I sat myself down contented enough without her. But I had a strange uneasiness in my mind to go down to the point of the island, where, as I have said, in my last ramble, I went up the hill to see how the shore lay, and how the current set, that I might see what I had to do. This inclination increased upon me every day, and at length I resolved to travel thither by land; and, following the edge of the shore, I did so; but had any one in England been to meet such a man as I was, it must either have frightened him, or raised a great deal of laughter; and as I frequently stood still to look at myself, I could not but smile at the notion of my travelling through York-shire with such an equipage, and in such a dress. Be pleased to take a sketch of my figure, as follows:

I had a great, high, shapeless cap, made of a goat's skin, with a flap hanging down behind, as well to keep the sun from me as to shoot the rain off from running into my neck; nothing being so hurtful, in these climates, as the rain upon the flesh under the clothes.

I had a short jacket of goat's skin, the skirts coming down to about the middle of my thighs; and a pair of open-kneed breeches of the same: the breeches were made of the skin of an old he-goat, whose hair hung down such a length on either side, that, like pantaloons, it reached to the middle of my legs. Stockings and shoes I had none; but I had made me a pair of something, I scarce know what to call them, like buskins, to flap over my legs, and lace on either side like spatter-dishes, but of a most barbarous shape, as indeed were all the rest of my clothes.

I had on a broad belt of goat's skin dried, which I drew together with two thongs of the same, instead of buckles, and, in a kind of a frog, on either side of this, instead of a sword and dagger, hung a little saw and a hatchet, one on one side, one on the other. I had another belt not so broad, and fastened in the same manner, which hung over my shoulder; and at the end of it, under my left arm, hung two pouches, both made of goat's skin too: in one of which hung my powder, in the other my shot. At my back I carried my basket, on my shoulder a gun, and over my head a great clumsy, ugly, goat's-skin umbrella, but which, after all, was the most necessary thing I had about me, next to my gun. As for my face, the color of it was really not so mulatto-like as one might expect from a man not at all careful of it, and living within nine or ten degrees of the equinox. My beard I had once suffered to grow till it was about a quarter of a yard long; but as I had both scissors and razors sufficient, I had cut it pretty short, except what grew on my upper lip, which I had trimmed into a large pair of Ma-hometan whiskers, such as I had seen worn by some Turks, whom I saw at Saltee; for the Moors did not wear such, though the Turks did. Of these mustachios, or whiskers, I will not say they were long enough to hang my hat upon them; but they were of a length and shape monstrous enough, and such as in England would have passed for frightful.

But all this is by the bye: for as to my figure, I had so few to observe me, that it was of no manner of consequence; so I say no more to that part. In this kind of figure I went my new journey, and was out five or six days. I travelled first along the sea-shore directly to the place where I first brought my boat to anchor, to get upon the rocks; and, having no boat now to take care of, I went over the land a nearer way, to the same height that I was upon before, when looking forward to the point of the rocks which lay out, and which I was to double with my boat. As I said above, I was surprised to see the sea all smooth and quiet: no rippling, no motion, no current, any more there than in other places.

I was at a strange loss to understand this, and resolved to spend some time in observing it, to see if nothing from the sets of the tide had occasioned it. But I was presently convinced how it was, viz., that the tide of ebbs setting from the west, and joining with the current of waters from some great river on the shore, must be the occasion of this current: and that, according as the wind blew more forcibly from the west, or from the north, this current came near, or went farther from the shore; for, waiting thereabouts till evening, I went up to the rock again, and then the tide of ebb being made, I plainly saw the current again as before, only that it ran farther off, being near half a league from the shore; whereas, in my case, it was set close upon the shore, and hurried me in my canoe, along with it, which at another time it would not have done.

This observation convinced me that I had nothing to

do but to observe the ebbing and flowing of the tide, and I might very easily bring my boat about the island again; but when I began to think of putting it into practice, I had such a terror upon my spirits at the remembrance of the danger I had been in that I could not think of it again with any patience; but, on the contrary, I took up another resolution, which was more safe though more laborious, and this was, that I would build, or rather make me another periagua, or canoe, and so have one for one side of the island, and one for the other.

You are to understand that now I had, as I may call it, two plantations in the island; one, my little fortification or tent, with the wall about it under the rock, with the cave behind me, which, by this time, I had enlarged into several apartments or caves, one within another. One of these, which was the driest and largest, and had a door out beyond my wall or fortification, that is to say, beyond where my wall joined to the rock, was all filled up with large earthen pots, of which I have given an account, and with fourteen or fifteen great baskets, which would hold five or six bushels each, where I laid up my store of provisions, especially my corn, some in the ear cut off short from the straw, and the other rubbed out with my hand.

As for my wall, made, as before, with long stakes or piles, those piles grew all like trees, and were by this time grown so big, and spread so very much, that there was not the least appearance, to any one's view, of an habitation behind them.

Near this dwelling of mine, but a little farther within the land, and upon lower ground, lay my two pieces of corn ground, which I kept duly cultivated and sowed and which duly yielded me their harvest in its seasons, and whenever I had occasion for more corn, I had more land adjoining as fit as that.

Besides this, I had my country seat, and I had now a tolerable plantation there also. For, first, I had my little tower, as I called it, which I kept in repair: that is to say, I kept the hedge which circled it in constantly sticking up to its usual height, the ladder standing always in the middle, like a man perfectly confined and out of myself inside. I kept the trees which at first were no more than my stakes, but were now grown very firm and tall; I kept them always so cut, that they might spread and grow thick and wild, and make the more agreeable shade, which they did effectually to my mind. In the middle of this I had my tent always standing, being a piece of a sail secured over poles set up for that purpose, and which never wanted any repair or renewing; and under this I had made me a squab or couch, with the skins of the creatures I had killed, and with other soft things, and a blanket laid on them, such as belonged to my sea-bedding, which I had saved, and a great watch-coat to cover me; and here, whenever I had occasion to be absent from my chief seat, I took up my country habitation.

Adjoining to this, I had my enclosures for my cattle, that is to say, my goats; and as I had taken an inconceivable deal of pains to fence and enclose this ground, I was so uneasy to see it kept entire, lest the goats should break through, that I never left off, till, with infinite labor, I had stuck the outside of the hedges so full of small stakes, and so near to one another, that it was rather a pain than a hedge, and there was scarce room to put my hand through between them; which afterwards, when those stakes grew, as they all did in the next rainy season, made the enclosure strong like a wall, indeed stronger than any wall.

This will testify for me that I was not idle, and that I spared no pains to bring to pass whatever appeared necessary for my comfortable support; for I considered the keeping up a breed of tame creatures thus at my hand, would be a living magazine of flesh, milk, butter, and cheese for me, as long as I lived in the place, if it were to be forty years; and that keeping them within my reach depended entirely upon my perfecting my enclosures to such a degree that I might be sure of keeping them together; which by this method indeed I so effectually secured, that when these little stakes began to grow, I had planted them so very thick I was forced to pull some of them up again.

In this place also I had my grapes growing, which I principally depended on for my winter-store of raisins, and which I never failed to preserve very carefully, as the best and most agreeable dainty of my whole diet; and indeed they were not agreeable only, but physical, wholesome, nourishing, and refreshing to the last degree.

As this was also about half way between my other habitation and the place where I had laid up my boat, I generally staid and lay here in my way thither; for I used frequently to visit my boat, and I kept all things about or belonging to her in very good order. Sometimes I went out in her to divert myself; but not any hazardous voyages would I go, nor scarce ever above a stone's cast or two from the shore, I was so apprehensive of being hurried out of my knowledge by the currents, or winds, or by other accident. But now I came to a new scene of my life.

It happened one day about noon, going towards my boat, I was exceedingly surprised with the print of a man's naked foot on the shore, which was very plain to be seen in the sand. I stood like one thunderstruck, or as if I had seen an apparition. I listened, I looked round me: I could hear nothing, nor see anything. I went up to the rising ground to look farther. I went up the shore, and down the shore, but it was all one; I could see no other impression but that one. I went to it again to see if there were any more, and to observe if it might not be my fancy; but there was no room for that, for there was exactly the very print of a foot, toes, heel, and every part of a foot: how it came thither I knew not, nor could I in the least imagine. But after innumerable flitting thoughts, like a man perfectly confused and out of myself, I came home to my fortification, not feeling, as we say, the ground I went on, but terrified to the last degree, looking behind me at every two or three steps, mistaking every bush and tree, and fancying every stump at a distance to be a man. Nor is it possible to describe how many various shapes an afflicted imagination represented things to me in; how many wild ideas were formed every moment in my fancy, and what strange unaccountable whimsies came into my thoughts by the way.

When I came to my castle, for so I think I called it ever after this, I fell into it like one pursued: whether I went over by the ladder, as first contrived, or went in at the hole in the rock, which I called a door, I cannot remember; for never frightened bare had to cover, or to earth, with more terror of mind than I to this retreat.

I did not sleep that night. The farther I was from the occasion of my fright, the greater my apprehensions were; which is something contrary to the nature of such things, and especially to the usual practice of all creatures in fear. But I was so embarrassed with my own frightful ideas of the thing, that I formed nothing but dismal imaginations to myself, even though I was now a great way off it.

Abundance of such things as these assisted to argue me, that it must be some of the savages of the main land over against me, who had waded out to sea in their canoes, and, either driven by the current, or by contrary winds, had made the island; and had been on shore, but gone away again to sea, being as loath, perhaps, to have staid in this desolate island, as I would have been to have had them.



While these reflections were rolling upon my mind, I was very thankful in my thoughts, that I was so happy as not to be thereabouts at that time, or that they did not see my boat, by which they would have concluded that some inhabitants had been in the place, and perhaps have searched farther for me. Then terrible thoughts racked my imaginations about their having found my boat, and that there were people here; and that, if so, I should certainly have them come in greater numbers, and devour me; that if it should happen so that they should not find me, yet they would find my enclosure, destroy all my corn, carry away all my flock of tame goats, and I should perish at last for mere want.

In the middle of my cogitations, apprehensions, and reflections, it came into my thoughts one day that all this might be a mere chimaera of my own, and this foot might be the print of my own foot, when I came on shore from my boat. This cheered me up a little too, and I began to persuade myself it was all a delusion; that it was nothing else but my own foot; and why might not I come that way from the boat, as well as I was going that way to the boat? Again, I considered also, that I could by no means tell for certain where I had trod, and where I had not; and that if at last this was only the print of my own foot, I had played the part of those fools, who strive to make stories of spectres and apparitions, and then are themselves frightened at them more than anybody else.

Now I began to take courage, and to peep abroad again; for I had not stirred out of my castle for three days and nights, so that I began to starve for provision for I had little or nothing within doors, but some barley cakes and water. Then I knew my goats wanted to be milked too, which usually was my evening diversion.

Heartening myself therefore with the belief that this was nothing but the print of one of my own feet (and so I might be truly said to start at my own shadow,) I began to go abroad again, and went to my country house to milk my flock; to see with what fear I went forward, how often I looked behind me, how I was ready, every now and then, to lay down my basket and run for my life, it would have made any one thought I was haunted with an evil conscience, or that I had been lately most terribly frightened; and so indeed I had.

However, as I went on thus two or three days, and had seen nothing, I began to be a little bolder, and to think there was really nothing in it but my own imagination; but I could not persuade myself fully of this, till I should go down to the shore again, and see this print of a foot, and measure it by my own, and see if there was any similitude or fitness, that I might be assured it was my own foot. But when I came to the place first, it appeared evidently to me, that when I laid up my boat, I could not possibly be on shore any where thereabouts. Secondly, when I came to measure the mark with my own foot, I found my foot not so large by a great deal: both these things filled my head with new imaginations, and gave me the vapors again to the highest degree, so that I shook with cold, like one in an ague, and I went home again, filled with the belief that some man or men had been on shore there, or, in short, that the island was inhabited, and I might be surprised before I was aware; and what course to take for my security, I knew not.

This confusion of my thoughts kept me waking all night; but in the morning I fell asleep, and having by the amusement of my mind, been, as it were, tired, and my spirits exhausted, I slept very soundly, and awoke much better composed than I had ever been before. And now I began to think sedately; and upon the utmost debate with myself, I concluded, that this island, which was so exceeding pleasant, fruitful, and no further from the main land than as I had seen, was not so entirely abandoned as I might imagine; that although there were no suited



inhabitants who lived on this spot, yet there might sometimes come boats off from the shore, who, either with design or perhaps never but when they were driven by cross winds, might come to this place; that I had lived fifteen years now, and had not met with the least shadow or figure of any people before; and that if at any time they should be driven here, it was probable they went away again as soon as ever they could, seeing they had never thought fit to fix here, upon any occasion, to this time; that the most I could suggest any danger from, was, from any such casual accidental landing of straggling people from the main; who, as it was likely, if they were driven hither, were here against their wills, so they made no stay here, but went off again at all possible speed, seldom staying one night on shore, lest they should not have the help of the tides and daylight back again; and that therefore I had nothing to do but to consider of some safe retreat, in case I should see any savage land upon the spot.

Now I began sorely to repent that I had dug my cave so large as to bring a door through again, which door as I said, came out beyond where my fortification joined to the rock. Upon maturely considering this, therefore, I resolved to draw me a second fortification, in the same manner of a semicircle, at a distance from my wall, just where I had planted a double row of trees, about twelve years before, of which I made mention. These trees having been planted so thick before, there wanted but a few piles to be driven between them, that they might be thicker and stronger, and my wall would be soon finished.

So that I had now a double wall, and my outer wall was thickened with pieces of timber, old cables, and everything I could think of to make it strong; having in it seven little holes, about as big as I might put my arm out at. In the inside of this I thickened my wall to about ten feet thick, continually bringing earth out of my cave, and laying it at the foot of the wall, and walking upon it; and through the seven holes I contrived to plant the muskets, of which I took notice that I got seven on shore out of the ship; these, I say, I planted like my cannon, and fitted them into frames that held them like a carriage, but so I could fire all the guns in two minutes' time. This wall I was many a weary month in finishing, and yet never thought myself safe till it was done.

When this was done, I stuck all the ground without my wall, for a great way every way, as full with stakes or sticks of the osier-like wood which I found so apt to grow, as they could well stand; inasmuch that I might set in twenty thousand of them, leaving a pretty large space between them and my wall, that I might have room to see an enemy, and they might have no shelter from the young trees if they approached my outer wall.

Thus, in two years I had a thick grove; and, in five or six years' time, I had a wood before my dwelling grown so monstrous thick and strong that it was indeed perfectly impenetrable; and no man of what kind soever, would ever imagine that there was anything beyond it, much less a habitation. As for the way I proposed to myself to go in and out, (for I left no avenue,) it was by setting two ladders; one to a part of the rock which was low, and then broke in, and left room to place another ladder upon that; so that, when the two ladders were taken down, no man living could come down to me without mischieving himself; and if they had come down, they were still on the outside of my outer wall.

Thus I took all the measures human prudence could suggest for my own preservation; and it will be seen, at length, that they were not altogether without just reason, though I foresaw nothing at that time, more than fear suggested to me.

While this was doing, I was not altogether careless of my other affairs; for I had a great concern upon me for my little herd of goats; they were not only a present supply to me upon every occasion, and began to be sufficient to my without the expense of powder and shot, but also abated the fatigue of my hunting after the wild ones, and I was loath to lose the advantage of them, and to have them all to nurse up over again.

To this purpose, after long consideration, I could think of but two ways to preserve them: one was to find another convenient place to dig a cave under ground, and to drive them into it every night; and the other was to enclose two or three little bits of land, remote from one another, and as much concealed as I could, where I might keep about half a dozen young goats in each place, so that if any disaster happened to the flock in general, I might be able to raise them again with little trouble and time; and this, though it would require a great deal of time and labor, I thought was the most rational design.

Accordingly I spent some time to find out the most retired parts of the island; and I pitched upon one which was private indeed as my heart could wish; for it was a little damp piece of ground in the middle of the hollow and thick woods, where, as is observed, I almost lost myself once before, endeavoring to come back that way from the eastern part of the island. Here I found a clear piece of land, near three acres, so surrounded with woods, that it was almost an enclosure by nature; at least, it did not want near so much labor to make it so, as the other pieces of ground I had worked so hard at.

I immediately went to work with this piece of ground; and, in less than a month's time, I had so fenced it round, that my flock or herd, call it which you please, which were not so wild now as at first they might be supposed to be, were well enough secured in it. So, without any further delay, I removed ten she-goats and two he-goats to this place; and when they were there, I continued to perfect the fence, till I made it as secure as the other, which, however, I did at more leisure, and it took me up more time by a great deal.

All this labor I was at the expense of, purely from my apprehensions on account of the print of a man's foot which I had seen; for as yet I never saw any human creature come near the island; and I had now lived two years under these uneasinesses, which indeed made my life much less comfortable than it was before, as may well be imagined by any who knows what it is to live in the constant snare of the fear of man; and this I must observe with grief too, that the discomposure of my mind

had too great impressions also upon the religious part of my thoughts; for the dread and terror of falling into the hands of savages and cannibals, lay so upon my spirits, that I seldom found myself in a due temper for application to my Maker, at least, not with the sedate calmness and resignation of soul which I was wont to do.

But to go on. After I had thus secured one part of my little living stock, I went about the whole island, searching for another private place, to make such another deposit; when, wandering more to the west point of the island than I had ever done yet, and, looking out to sea, I thought I saw a boat upon the sea, at a great distance. I had found a perspective glass or two, in one of the sea men's chests, which I saved out of our ship; but I had it not about me, and this was so remote, that I could not tell what to make of it, though I looked at it till my eyes were not able to hold to look any longer. Whether it was a boat or not, I do not know; but as I descended from the hill, I could see no more of it, so I gave it over; only I resolved to go no more without a perspective glass in my pocket.

When I was come down the hill, to the end of the island, where, indeed, I had never been before, I was presently convinced that the seeing the print of a man's foot was not such a strange thing in the island as I imagined; and but that it was a special providence that I was cast upon the side of the island where the savages never came, I should easily have known that nothing was more frequent than for the canoes from the main, when they happened to be a little too far out at sea, to shoot over to that side of the island for harbor; likewise, as they often met, and fought in their canoes, the victors, having taken any prisoners, would bring them over to this shore, where, according to their dreadful custom, being all cannibals, they would kill and eat them: of which, hereafter.



When I was come down the hill to the shore, as I said above, being the south-west point of the island, I was perfectly confounded and amazed; nor is it possible for me to express the horror of my mind, at seeing the shore spread with skulls, hands, feet, and other bones of human bodies, and particularly I observed a place where there had been a fire made, and a circle dug in the earth, like a cockpit, where, it is supposed, the savage wretches had sat down to their inhuman feasting upon the bodies of their fellow-creatures.

I was so astonished with the sight of these things, that I entertained no notion of any danger to myself from it for a long while. All my apprehensions were buried in the thoughts of such a pitch of inhuman, hellish brutality, and the horror of the degeneracy of human nature, which, though I had heard of often, yet I never had so near a view of before; in short, I turned away my face from the horrid spectacle, my stomach grew sick, and I was just at the point of fainting, when nature discharged the disorder from my stomach; and, having vomited with an uncommon violence, I was a little relieved, but could not bear to stay in the place a moment; so I got me up the hill again, with all the speed I could, and walked on towards my own habitation.

When I came a little out of that part of the island, I stood still awhile, as amazed; and then, recovering myself, I looked up with the utmost affection of my soul, and, with a flood of tears in my eyes, gave God thanks that I had cast my first lot in a part of the world where I was distinguished from such dreadful creatures as these, and that, though I had esteemed my present condition very miserable, had yet given me so many comforts in it, that I had still more to give thanks for than to complain of; and this, above all, that I had, even in this miserable condition, been comforted with the knowledge of Himself, and the hope of his blessing, which was a felicity more than sufficiently equivalent to all the misery which I had suffered, or could suffer.

In this frame of thankfulness I went home to my castle, and began to be much easier now, as to the safety of my circumstances, than ever I was before; for I observed that these wretches never came to this island in search of what they could get; perhaps not seeking, not wanting, or not expecting anything here; and having often, no doubt, been up in the covered woody part of it, without finding anything to their purpose. I knew I had been here now almost eighteen years, and never saw the least footsteps of human creature there before; and might be here eighteen more as entirely concealed as I was now, if I did not discover myself to them, which I had no manner of occasion to do—it being my only business to keep myself entirely concealed where I was, unless I found a better sort of creatures than cannibals to make myself known to.

Yet I entertained such an abhorrence of the savage wretches that I have been speaking of, and of the wretched inhuman custom of their devouring and eating me another up, that I continued pensive and sad, and kept close within my own circle for almost two years after this. When I say my own circle, I mean by it my three plantations—viz., my castle, my country seat, which

I called my bower, and my enclosure in the woods; nor did I look after this for any other use than as an enclosure for my goats: for the aversion which nature gave me to these hellish wretches was such, that I was as fearful of seeing them as of seeing the devil himself. Nor did I so much as go to look after my boat all this time, but began rather to think of making me another; for I could not think of ever making any more attempts to bring the other boat round the island to me, lest I should meet with some of these creatures at sea, in which, if I had happened to have fallen in their hands, I knew what would have been my lot.

Time, however, and the satisfaction I had that I was in no danger of being discovered by these people, began to wear off my uneasiness about them; and I began to live just in the same composed manner as before—only with this difference, that I used more caution, and kept my eyes more about me than I did before, lest I should happen to be seen by any of them; and particularly I was more cautious in firing my gun, lest any of them being on the island should happen to hear it; and it was, therefore, a very good providence to me that I had furnished myself with a tame breed of goats, that I needed not hunt any more about the woods, or shoot at them; and if I did catch any of them after this, it was by traps and snares, as I had done before; so that for two years after this, I believe I never fired my gun once off, though I never went out without it; and which was more, as I had saved three pistols out of the ship, I always carried them out with me, or at least two of them, sticking them in my g.-at-skin belt. I likewise furnished up one of the great cullasses that I had out of the ship, and made me a belt to put it on also; so that I was now a most formidable fellow to look at when I went abroad, if you add to the former description of myself the particular of two pistols and a great broadsword hanging at my side in a belt, but without a scabbard.

Things going on thus, as I have said, for some time, I seemed, excepting these cautions, to be reduced to my former calm, sedate way of living. All these things tended to showing me, more and more, how far my condition was from being miserable, compared to some others, nay, to many other particulars of life, which it might have pleased God to have made my lot. It put me upon reflecting how little repining there would be among mankind, at any condition of life, if people would rather compare their conditions with those that are worse, in order to be thankful, than to be always comparing them with those which are better, to assist their murmurings and complainings.

As in my present condition there were not really many things which I wanted, so indeed I thought that the frights I had been in about these savage wretches, and the concern I had been in for my own preservation, had taken off the edge of my invention for my own conveniences; and I had dropped a good design, which I had once bent my thoughts upon, and that was, to try if I could not make some of my barley into malt, and then try to brew myself some beer. This was really a whimsical thought, and I reproved myself often for the simplicity of it; for I presently saw there would be the want of several things necessary to the making my beer that it would be impossible for me to supply; as, first, casks to preserve it in, which was a thing that, as I have observed already, I could never compass; no, though I spent not many days, but weeks, nay months, in attempting it, but to no purpose. In the next place I had no hops to make it keep, no yeast to make it work, no copper or kettle to make it boil; and yet had not all these things intervened (I mean the frights and terrors I was in about the savages), I had undertaken it, and perhaps brought it to pass too; for I seldom gave anything over without accomplishing it, when once I had it in my head enough to begin it.

But my invention now ran quite another way; for night and day I could think of nothing but how I might destroy some of these monsters in their cruel, bloody entertainment, and, if possible, save the victim they should bring hither to destroy. It would take up a larger volume than this whole work is intended to be, to set down all the contrivances I hatched, or rather brooded upon, in my thoughts, for the destroying these creatures, or at least frightening them, so as to prevent their coming hither any more. But all was abortive; nothing could be possible to take effect, unless I was to be there to do it myself. And what could one man do among them, when, perhaps, there might be twenty or thirty of them together with their darts, or their bows and arrows, with which they could shoot as true to a mark as I could with my gun.

Sometimes I thought of digging a hole under the place where they made their fire, and put in five or six pounds of gunpowder, which, when they kindled their fire, would consequently take fire, and blow up all that was near it. But as, in the first place, I was loath to spend so much powder upon them, my store being now within the quantity of one barrel, so neither could I be sure of its going off at any certain time, when it might surprise them, and at best it would do little more than just blow the fire about their ears and frighten them, but not sufficient to make them forsake the place; so I laid it aside, and then proposed I should lay myself in ambush, in some convenient place, with my three guns, all double loaded, and in the middle of their bloody ceremony let fly at them, when I should be sure to kill or wound perhaps two or three at every shot, and then falling in upon them with my three pistols and sword, I made no doubt but that if there were twenty I should kill them all. This fancy pleased my thoughts for some weeks, and I was so full that I often dreamed of it, and sometimes that I was just going to let fly among them in my sleep.

I went so far with it in my imagination, that I employed myself several days to find out a proper place to put myself in ambush, as I said, to watch for them; and I went frequently to the place I thought which was most grown more familiar to me, and especially while my mind was thus filled with thoughts of revenge, and of putting twenty or thirty of them to the sword, as I will call it; but the horror I had at the place, and at the signals of the barbarous wretches devouring one another, abated my malice.



Well, at length I found a place in the side of the hill where I was satisfied I might securely wait till I saw any of their boats coming, and might then, even before they would be ready to come on shore, convey myself unseen into the thickest of the trees, in one of which there was a hollow large enough to conceal me entirely, and where I might sit and observe all their doings, and take my full aim at their heads, when they were so close together that it would be next to impossible that I should miss my shot, or that I could fail wounding three or four of them at the first fire.

In this place, then, I resolved to fix my design, and accordingly I prepared two muskets and my ordinary fowling-piece. The two muskets I loaded with a brace of slugs each, and four or five small bullets, about the size of pistol bullets; and the fowling-piece I loaded with nearly a handful of swan shot, of the largest size. I also loaded my pistols with about four bullets each; and in this posture, provided with ammunition for a second and third charge, I prepared myself for my expedition.

After I had thus laid the scheme for my design, and, in my imagination, put it in practice, I continually made my tour every morning up to the top of the hill, which was from my castle (as I called it) about three miles, or more, to see if I could observe any boats upon the sea coming near the island, or standing over towards it; but I began to tire of this hard duty, after I had for two or three months constantly kept watch, and come always back without any discovery, there having not in all that time been the least appearance, not only on or near the shore, but not on the whole ocean, so far as my eyes or glasses could reach every way.

As long as I kept up the daily tour to the hill to look out, so long also I kept up the vigor of my design; and my spirits seemed to be all the while in a suitable frame for such an outrageous execution as the killing of twenty or thirty naked savages.

I believe the reader of this will not think it strange if I confess that these anxieties, these constant dangers that I lived in, and the concern that was now upon me, put an end to all invention, and to all the contrivances that I had laid for my future accommodation and conveniences. I had the care of my safety more now upon my hands than that of my food. I cared not to drive a nail, or chop a stick of wood now, for fear the noise I made should be heard; much less would I fire a gun for the same reason; and, above all, I was very uneasy at making any fire, lest the smoke, which is visible at a great distance in the day, should betray me; and for this reason I removed that part of my business which required fire, such as the burning of pots, pipes, &c., into my new apartment in the woods, where, after I had been some time, I found, to my unspeakable consolation, a mere natural cave in the earth, which went in a vast way, and where I dare say no savage, had he been at the mouth of it, would be so hardy as to venture in; nor, indeed, would any one else but one who, like me, wanted nothing so much as a safe retreat.

The mouth of this hollow was at the bottom of a great rock, where, by mere accident I would say (if I did not see abundant reason to ascribe all such things now to Providence), I was cutting down some thick branches of trees to make charcoal.

I was afraid of making a smoke about my habitation, as I said before, and yet I could not live there without baking my bread, cooking my meat, &c.; so I contrived to burn some wood here, as I had seen done in England under turf, till it became charred, or dry coal; and then putting the fire out, I preserved the coal to carry home, and performed the other services for which the fire was wanting, without danger of smoke.

But this by the bye. While I was cutting down some wood here, I perceived that, behind a very thick branch of low brush-wood or under-wood there was a kind of a hollow place. I was curious to look into it, and getting with difficulty into the mouth of it, I found it was pretty large—that is to say, sufficient for me to stand upright in it, and perhaps another with me; but I must confess to you I made more haste out than I did in, when, looking farther into the place, which was perfectly dark, I saw two broad shining eyes of some creature, which twinkled like two stars; the dim light from the cave's mouth shining directly in, and making the reflection.

However, after some pause I recovered myself; and plucking up courage, I took a great firebrand, and in I rushed again, with the stick flaming in my hand. I had not gone three steps in, but I was almost as much frightened as I was before; for I heard a very loud sigh, like that of a man in some pain, and it was followed by a broken noise, as if of words half expressed, and then a deep sigh again. I stepped back, and was indeed struck with such a surprise that it put me into a cold sweat; and if I had had a hat on my head, I would not answer for it that my hair had not lifted it off. But still plucking up my spirits as well as I could, and encouraging myself a little with considering that the power and presence of God was everywhere, and was able to protect me, I stepped forward again, and by the light of the firebrand, holding it a little over my head, I saw, lying on the ground, a most monstrous frightful old he-goat, just making his will, as we say, gasping for life, and dying, indeed, of mere old age.

I stirred him a little to see if I could get him out, and he assayed to get up, but was not able to raise himself; and I thought with myself he might even lie there; for if he had frightened me so, he would certainly frighten any of the savages, if any of them should be so hardy as to come in there, while he had any life in him.

I was now recovered from my surprise, and began to look around me, when I found the cave was but very small—that is to say, it might be about twelve feet over but in no manner of shape, either round or square, no hands having ever been employed in making it than those of mere nature. I observed, also, that there was a place at the further side of it that went in farther, but it was so low that it required me to creep upon my hands and knees to go into it, and whither it went I knew not; so, having no candle, I gave it over for some time, but resolved to come again the next day, provided with can-

dles and a tinder-box, which I had made of the lock of one of the muskets, with some wildfire in the pan.

Accordingly, the next day, I came provided with six large candles of my own making, for I made very good candles now of goat's tallow; and going into this low place I was obliged to creep upon all fours, as I have said, almost ten yards, which, by the way, I thought, was a venture bold enough, considering that I knew not how far it might go, or what was beyond it. When I was got through the strait, I found the roof rose higher up, I believe near twenty feet; but never was such a glorious sight seen in the island, I dare say, as it was, to look round the sides and roof of this vault or cave. The walls reflected a hundred thousand lights to me from my two candles; what it was in the rock, whether diamonds, or any other precious stones, or gold, which I supposed it to be, I knew not.

The place I was in was a most delightful cavity, or grotto, of its kind, as could be expected, though perfectly dark; the floor was dry and level, and had a sort of small loose gravel upon it, so that there was no nauseous or venomous creatures to be seen; neither was there any damp or wet on the sides or roof. The only difficulty in it was the entrance, which, however, as it was a place of security, and such a retreat as I wanted, I thought that was a convenience; so that I really rejoiced at the discovery, and resolved, without any delay, to bring some of those things which I was most anxious about to this place; particularly I resolved to bring hither my magazine of powder, and all my spare arms, viz., two fowling-pieces (for I had three in all) and three muskets (for of them I had eight in all); so I kept at my castle only five, which stood, ready mounted, like pieces of cannon, on my outmost fence, and were all ready to take out upon any expedition.

Upon this occasion of removing my ammunition, I took up of the sea, and which had been wet; and I found that the water had penetrated about three or four inches into the powder on every side, which caking and growing hard, had preserved the inside like a kernel in a shell, so that I had sixty pounds very good powder in the centre of the cask; and this was an agreeable discovery to me at that time; so I carried all away thither, never keeping above two or three pounds of powder with me in my castle, for fear of a surprise of any kind. I also carried thither all the lead I had left for bullets.

I fancied myself now like one of the ancient giants, which were said to live in caves and holes in the rocks, where none could come at them; for I persuaded myself, while I was here, if five hundred savages were to hunt me, they could never find me out; or if they did, they would never venture to attack me.



The old goat, whom I found expiring, died in the month of the cave, the next day after I made this discovery; and I found it much easier to dig a great hole there, and throw him in, and cover him with earth, than to drag him out; so I interred him there, to prevent offence to my nose.

I was now in my twenty-third year of residence in this island, and was so naturalized to the place, that I began to be very well contented with the life I led, if it might but have been secured from the dread of the savages.

But it was otherwise directed; and it may not be amiss for all people who shall meet with my story to make this just observation from it, viz.: how frequently, in the course of our lives, the evil, which in itself we seek most to shun, and which, when we are fallen into, is the most dreadful to us, is oftentimes the very door of our deliverance, by which alone we can be raised again from the affliction we are fallen into. I could give many examples of this in the course of my unaccountable life; but in nothing was it more particularly remarkable, than in the circumstances of the last years of my solitary residence in this island.

It was now the month of December, as I said above, in my twenty-third year: and this being the southern solstice, for winter I cannot call it, was the particular time of my harvest, and required my being pretty much abroad in the fields; when going out pretty early in the morning, even before it was thorough daylight, I was surprised with seeing a light of some fire upon the shore, at a distance from me of about two miles, towards the end of the island where I had observed some savages had been as before; but not on the other side, but, to my great affliction, it was on my side of the island.

I was indeed terribly surprised at the sight, and stopped short within my grove, not daring to go out, lest I might be surprised; and yet I had no more peace within from the apprehensions I had that if those savages, in rambling over the island, should find my corn standing, or cut, or any of my works or improvements, they would immediately conclude that there were people in the place,

and would then never give over till they found me out. In this extremity I went back directly to my castle, pulled up the ladder after me, having made all things without look as wild and natural as I could.

Then I prepared myself within, putting myself in a posture of defence. I loaded all my cannon, as I called them, that is to say, my muskets, which were mounted upon my new fortification, and all my pistols, and resolved to defend myself to the last gasp; not forgetting seriously to commend myself to the Divine protection, and earnestly to pray to God to deliver me out of the hands of the barbarians; and in this posture I continued about two hours, but began to be mightily impatient for intelligence abroad, for I had no spies to send out.

After sitting awhile longer, and musing what I should do in this case, I was not able to bear sitting in ignorance longer; so setting up my ladder to the side of the hill, where there was a flat place, as I observed before, and then pulling the ladder up after me, I set it up again, and mounted to the top of the hill; and pulling out my perspective glass, which I had taken on purpose, I laid me down flat on my belly, on the ground, and began to look for the place. I presently found there were no less than nine naked savages sitting round a small fire they had made; not to warm them, for they had no need of that, the weather being extremely hot, but, as I supposed, to dress some of their barbarous diet of human flesh, which they had brought with them, whether alive or dead, I could not know.

They had two canoes with them, which they had hauled up on the shore; and as it was then tide of ebb, they seemed to wait the return of the flood to go away again. It is not easy to imagine what confusion this sight put me into, especially seeing them come on my side of the island, and so near me, too; but when I observed their coming must be always with the current of the ebb, I began afterwards to be sedate in my mind, being satisfied that I might go abroad with safety, all the time of tide of flood, if they were not on shore before; and having made this observation, I went abroad about my harvest-work with the more composure.

As I expected so it proved; for as soon as the tide made to the westward, I saw them all take boat, and row (or paddle, as we call it,) all away. I should have observed, that for an hour and more before they went off, they went to dancing, and I could easily discern their postures and gestures by my glasses; I could not perceive, by my nearest observation, but that they were stark naked, and had not the least covering upon them; but whether they were men or women, that I could not distinguish.

As soon as I saw them shipped and gone, I took two guns upon my shoulders, and two pistols at my girdle, and my great sword by my side, without a scabbard, and with all the speed I was able to make, I went away to the hill, where I had discovered the first appearance of all. As soon as I got thither, which was not less than two hours (for I could not go apace, being so loaded with arms as I was), I perceived there had been three canoes more of savages on that place; and looking out further, I saw they were at sea together, making over for the main.

This was a dreadful sight to me, especially when going down to the shore, I could see the marks of horror which the dismal work they had been about had left behind it, viz.: the blood, the bones, and part of the flesh of human bodies, eaten and devoured by those wretches, with merriment and sport. I was so filled with indignation at the sight, that I began now to premeditate the destruction of the next I saw there, let them be who or how many soever.

It seemed evident to me, that the visits which they thus made to this island, were not very frequent; for it was above fifteen months before any more of them came on shore there again; that is to say, I never saw them, or any footsteps or signals of them, in all that time; for, as to the rainy seasons, then they are sure not to come abroad, at least not so far; yet all this while I lived uncomfortably, by reason of the constant apprehensions I was in of their coming upon me by surprise; from whence I observed that the expectation of evil is more bitter than the suffering, especially if there is no room to shake off that expectation, or those apprehensions.

During all this time, I was in the murdering humor; and took up most of my hours, which should have been better employed, in contriving how to circumvent and fall upon them, the very next time I should see them, especially if they should be divided, as they were at the last time, into two parties; nor did I consider at all, that if I killed one party, suppose ten or a dozen, I was still the next day, or week, or month, to kill another, and so another, even *ad infinitum*, till I should be no less a murderer than they were in being man-eaters, and perhaps much more so.

I spent my days now in great perplexity and anxiety of mind, expecting that I should one day or other fall into the hands of these merciless creatures. If I did at any time venture abroad, it was not without the greatest care and caution imaginable; and now I found, to my greatest comfort, how happy it was that I had provided a tame flock or herd of goats; for I durst not, upon any account, fire my gun, especially near that side of the island, where they usually came, lest I should alarm the savages; and if they had fled from me now, I was sure to have them come back again, with perhaps two or three hundred canoes with them, in a few days, and then I knew what to expect.

However, I wore out a year and three months more, before I ever saw any more of the savages; and then I found them again, as I shall soon observe. It is true, they might have been there once or twice; but either they made no stay, or at least I did not hear them; but, in the month of May, as near as I could calculate, and in my four-and-twentieth year, I had a very strange encounter with them, of which in its place.

The perturbation of my mind, during this fifteen or sixteen months' interval, was very great. I slept unquiet, dreaming always frightful dreams, and often started out of my sleep in the night; in the day, great troubles overwhelmed my mind; in the night I dreamed often of killing savages, and the reasons why I might justify the



doing of it. But, to waive all this for a while, it was in the middle of May, on the sixteenth day, as well as my poor wooden calendar would reckon, for I marked all upon the post still; I say, it was on the sixteenth of May, that it blew a very great storm of wind all day, with a great deal of lightning and thunder, and a very foul night was after it. I know not what was the particular occasion of it; but as I was reading in the Bible, and taken up with serious thoughts about my present condition, I was surprised with the noise of a gun, as I thought, fired at sea.

This was, to be sure, a surprise of quite a different nature from any I had met with before; for the notions this put into my thoughts were quite of another kind. I started up in the greatest haste imaginable; and, in a trice clapped up my ladder to the middle place of the rock, and pulled it after me, and, mounting it the second time, got to the top of the hill; that very moment a flash of fire bade me listen for a second gun, which, accordingly, in about half a minute, I heard; and by the sound knew that it was from that part of the sea where I was driven out with the current in my boat.

I immediately considered that this must be some ship in distress, and that they had some comrade, or some other ship in company, and fired these guns for signal of distress, and to obtain help. I had the presence of mind, at that minute, as to think that, though I could not help them, it may be they might help me; so I brought together all the dry wood I could get at hand, and making a good handsome pile, I set it on fire up to the hill; the wood was dry, and blazed freely; and, though the wind blew very hard, yet it burnt fairly out, so that I was certain, if there was any such thing as a ship, they must needs see it, and no doubt they did; for, as soon as my fire blazed up, I heard another gun, and after that several others, all from the same quarter. I piled my fire all night long, till day broke; and when it was broad day, and the air cleared up, I saw something at a great distance at sea, full east of the island, whether a sail, or a hull, I could not distinguish, but with my glasses, the distance was so great, and the weather still something hazy, also; at least, it was so at sea.

I looked frequently at it all that day, and soon perceived that it did not move; so I presently concluded that it was a ship at anchor; and being eager, you may be sure, to be satisfied, I took my gun in my hand, and ran towards the south-east part of the island, to the rocks, where I had been formerly carried away with the current; and getting up there, the weather by this time being perfectly clear, I could plainly see, to my great sorrow, the wreck of a ship cast away in the night upon these concealed rocks, which I had found when out in my boat; and which rocks, as they checked the violence of the stream, and made a kind of counter-stream, or eddy, were the occasion of my recovering then from the most desperate, hopeless condition that ever I had been in all my life.

Thus, what is one man's safety, is another man's destruction; for it seems these men, whoever they were, being out of their knowledge, and the rocks being wholly under water, had been driven upon them in the night, the wind blowing hard at E. and E. N. E. Had they seen the island, as I must necessarily suppose they did not, they must, as I thought, have endeavored to have saved themselves on shore by the help of their boat; but their firing of their guns for help, especially when they saw, as I imagined, my fire, filled me with many thoughts. First, I imagined that, upon seeing my light, they might have put themselves into their boat, and have endeavored to reach the shore, but that the sea going very high, they might have been cast away. Other times I imagined that they might have lost their boat before, as might be the case many ways; as particularly by the breaking of the sea upon their ship, which many times obliged men to stave, or take in pieces their boat, and sometimes to throw it overboard with their own hands. Other times I imagined they had some other ship or ships in company, who, upon the signals of distress they had made, had taken them up, and carried them off. Other times I fancied they were all gone off to sea, and, being hurried away by the current that I had been formerly in, were carried out into the great ocean, where there was nothing but misery and perishing; and that perhaps they might, by this time, think of starving, and of being in a condition to eat one another.

It was not, however, till the last year of my being in this island, that I ever knew whether any were saved out of that ship or no; and had only the affliction, some days after, to see the corpse of a drowned boy come on shore, at the end of the island which was next the shipwreck. He had on no clothes but a seaman's waist-coat, a pair of open-kneed linen drawers, and a blue linen shirt; but nothing to direct me so much as to guess what nation he was of. He had nothing in his pocket but two pieces of eight, and a tobacco-pipe; the last to me of ten times more value than the first.

It was now calm, and I had a great mind to venture out in my boat to this wreck, not doubting but I might find something on board that might be useful to me; but that did not altogether press me so much as the possibility that there might be yet some living creature on board, whose life I might not only save, but might, by saving that life, comfort my own to the last degree; and this thought clung so to my heart, that I could not be quiet, night or day, but I must venture out on board this wreck; and, committing the rest to God's providence, I thought the impression was so strong upon my mind, that it could not be resisted, that it must come from some invisible direction, and that I should be wanting to myself if I did not go.

Under the power of this impression, I hastened back to my castle, prepared everything for my voyage, took a quantity of bread, a great pot of fresh water, a compass to steer by, a bottle of rum (for I had still a great deal of that left) and a basket full of raisins; and thus loading myself with everything necessary, I went down to my boat, got the water out of her, and got her adrift, loaded all my cargo in her, and then went home again for more. My second cargo was a great bag full of rice, the umbrella to set up over my head for shade; another large pot

full of fresh water, and about two dozen of small loaves, or barley cakes, more than before, with a bottle of goat's milk, and a cheese; all which, with great labor and sweat, I brought to my boat, and praying to God to direct my voyage, I put out; and rowing or paddling the canoe along the shore, I came at last to the utmost point of the island, on that side, viz., N. E. And now I was to launch out into the ocean; and either to venture, or not to venture. I looked on the rapid currents which ran constantly on both sides of the island, at a distance, and which were very terrible to me, from the remembrance of a hazard I had been in before, and my heart began to fail me; for I foresaw that, if I were driven into either of those currents, I should be carried a vast way out to sea, and perhaps out of my reach, or sight of the island again; and that then, as my boat was but small, if any little gale of wind should rise, I should be inevitably lost.

These thoughts so oppressed my mind, that I began to give over my enterprise, and, having hauled my boat up to a little creek on the shore, I stepped out, and sat me down upon a little spot of rising ground, very pensive and anxious, between fear and desire, about my voyage; when, as I was musing, I could perceive that the tide was turned, and the flood came on, upon which my going was for so many hours impracticable. Upon this, I presently occurred to me that I should go up to the highest piece of ground I could find, and observe, if I could, how the sets of the tides or currents lay, when the flood came in; that I might judge whether, if I were driven one way out, I might not expect to be driven another way home, with the same rapidness of the currents. This thought was no sooner in my head, but I cast my eye upon a little hill, which sufficiently overlooked the sea both ways, and from whence I had a clear view of the currents, or sets of the tide, and which way I was to guide myself in my return. Here I found, that as the current of the ebb set out close by the south point of the island, so the current of the flood set in close by the shore of the north side; and that I had nothing to do but to keep to the north of the island in my return, and I should do well enough.

Encouraged by this observation, I resolved, the next morning, to set out with the first of the tide; and reposing myself for that night under the great watch-coat I mentioned, I launched out. I made first a little way out to sea, full north, till I began to feel the benefit of the current which set eastward, and which carried me at a great rate, and yet did not so much hurry me as the southern side current had done before, and so as to take from me all government of the boat; but, by having a strong steerage with my paddle, I went, I say, at a great rate, directly for the wreck, and in less than two hours I came up to it.

It was a dismal sight to look at: the ship, which by the building was Spanish, stuck fast, jammed in between two rocks; all the stern and quarter of her were beaten to pieces by the sea; and as her fore-castle, which stuck in the rocks, had run on with great violence, her main-mast and foremast were brought by the board, that is to say, broken short off; but her bowsprit was sound, and the head and bow appeared firm. When I came close to her, a dog appeared upon her, who, seeing me coming, yelped and cried; and as soon as I called him, jumped into the sea to come to me; and I took him into the boat, but found him almost dead for hunger and thirst. I gave him a cake of my bread, and he eat like a ravenous wolf that had been starving a fortnight in the snow. I then gave the poor creature some fresh water; with which, if I would have let him, he would have burst himself.

After this I went on board. The first sight I met with was two men drowned in the cock-room, or fore-castle of the ship, with their arms fast about one another. I concluded, as is indeed probable, that, when the ship struck, it being a storm, the sea broke so high that the men were not able to bear it, and were strangled with the constant rushing in of the water, as much as if they had been under water. Besides the dog, there was nothing left in the ship that had life; not any goods that I could see, but what were spoiled by the water. There were some casks of liquor, whether wine or brandy, I knew not, which lay in the lower hold, and which, the water being ebbed out, I could see; but they were too high to meddle with. I saw several chests, which, I believed, belonged to some seamen; and I got two of them in the boat, without examining what was in them.

Had the stern of the ship been fixed, and the fore part broken off, I am persuaded I might have made a good voyage; for, by what I found in these two chests, I had room to suppose the ship had a great deal of wealth on board; and if I may guess by the course she steered, she must have been bound from Buenos Ayres, or the Rio de la Plata, in the south part of America, beyond the Brazil, to the Havana, in the Gulf of Mexico, and so perhaps to Spain. She had, no doubt, a great treasure in her, but of no use, at that time, to anybody; and what became of the rest of her people, I knew not.

I found, besides these chests, a little cask full of liquor, of about twenty gallons, which I got into my boat with much difficulty. There were several muskets in a cabin, and a great powder-horn, with about four pounds of powder in it; as for the muskets I had no occasion for them; so I left them, but took the powder-horn. I took a fire shovel and tongs, which I wanted extremely; as also two little brass kettles, a copper pot to make chocolate, and a gridiron; and with this cargo, and the dog, I came away, the tide beginning to make home again; and the same evening, about an hour within night, I reached the island again, weary and fatigued to the last degree.

I reposed that night in the boat; and in the morning I resolved to harbor home I had gotten in my new cave, not to carry it home to my castle. After refreshing myself, I got all my cargo on shore, and began to examine the particulars. The cask of liquor I found to be a kind of rum, but not such as we had at the Brazil; and, it is a word, not at all good. But when I came to open the chests, I found several things which I wanted; for example, I found in one a fine case of bottles, of an extraordinary kind, and filled with cordial waters, fine and very good; the bottles held about three pints each, and were tipped with silver. I found two pots of very good succadees, or sweetmeats, so fastened also on top that the salt water had not hurt them; and two more of the same

which the water had spoiled. I found some very good shirts, which were very welcome to me, and about a dozen and a half of white linen handkerchiefs, and colored neckcloths; the former were also very welcome, being exceedingly refreshing to wipe my face in a hot day. Besides this, when I came to the till in the chest, I found there three great bags of pieces of eight, which held about eleven hundred pieces in all; and in one of them, wrapt up in a paper, six doubloons of gold, and some small bars or wedges of gold; I suppose they might all weigh near a pound.

The other chest I found had some clothes in it, but of little value; but by the circumstances it must have belonged to the gunner's mate, though there was no powder in it, but about two pounds of glazed powder, in three small flasks, kept, I suppose, for charging their fowling-pieces on occasions. Upon the whole, I got very little by this voyage, that was of much use to me; for as to the money, I had no manner of occasion for it; it was to me as the dirt under my feet, and I would have given it all for three or four pair of English shoes and stockings, which were things I greatly wanted, but had not had on my feet now for many years. I had, indeed, gotten two pair of shoes now, which I took off the feet of the drowned men whom I saw in the wreck; and I found two pair more in one of the chests, which were very welcome to me; but they were not like our English shoes, either for ease or service, being rather what we call pumps than shoes. I found in this seaman's chest about fifty pieces of eight in royals, but no gold; I suppose this belonged to a poorer man than the other, which seemed to belong to some officer.

Well, however, I lugged this money home to my cave, and laid it up, as I had done that before, which I had brought from our own ship; but it was a great pity, as I said, that the other part of the ship had not come to my shore, for I am satisfied I might have loaded my canoe several times over with money; which, had I ever escaped to England, would have laid here safe enough, till I might have come again and fetched it.

Having now brought all my things on shore, and secured them, I went back to my boat, and rowed or paddled her along the shore to her old harbor, where I laid her up, and made the best of my way to my old habitation, where I found everything safe and quiet; so I began to repose myself, live after my old fashion, and take care of my family affairs; and for a while I lived easy enough, only that I was more vigilant than I used to be, looked out often and did not go abroad so much; and if at any time I did stir with any freedom, it was always to the east part of the island, where I was pretty well satisfied the savages never came, and where I could go without so many precautions, and such a load of arms and ammunition as I always carried with me if I went the other way.

I lived in this condition near two years more; but my unlucky head, that was always to let me know it was born to make my body miserable, was all those two years filled with projects and designs, how, if it were possible, I might get away from this island; for sometimes I was making another voyage to the wreck, though my reason told me that there was nothing left there worth the hazard of my voyage; sometimes for a ramble one way, sometimes another; and I believe verily, if I had had the boat that I went from Saltee in, I should have ventured to sea bound anywhere I know not whither.



I am now to be supposed to be retired into my castle, after my late voyage to the wreck, my frigate laid up, and secured under water as usual, and condition restored to what it was before. I had more wealth, indeed, than I had before, but was not at all the richer; for I had no more use for it than the Indians of Peru had before the Spaniards came thither.

About a year and a half after I was surprised one morning early, with seeing no less than five canoes, all on shore together, on my side the island, and the people who belonged to them all landed and out of my sight. The number of them broke all my measures; for seeing so many, and knowing they always came four or six, or sometimes more, in a boat, I could not tell what to think of it, or how to take my measures to attack twenty or thirty men single handed; so I lay still in my castle, perplexed and discomforted. However, I put myself into all the same postures for an attack that I had formerly provided, and was just ready for action, if anything had presented. Having waited a good while, listening to hear if they made any noise, at length being very impatient, I set my guns at the foot of the ladder, and clambered up to the top of the hill by my two stages, as usual; standing so, however, that my head did not appear above the hill; so that they could not perceive me, by any means. Here I observed, by the help of my perspective glass, that there were no less than thirty in number; that they had a fire kindled; and that they had meat dressed; how



they cooked it, that I knew not, or what it was; but they were all dancing, in I know not how many barbarous gestures and figures, their own way, round the fire.

While I was thus looking on them, I perceived, by my perspective, two miserable wretches dragged from the boats, where, it seems, they were laid by, and were now brought out for the slaughter. I perceived one of them immediately fell, being knocked down, I suppose, with a club, or wooden sword, for that was their way; and two or three others were at work immediately, cutting him open for their cookery, while the other victim was left standing by himself, till they should be ready for him. In that very moment this poor wretch seeing himself a little at liberty, nature inspired him with hopes of life, and he started away from them, and ran with incredible swiftness along the sands, directly towards me; I mean towards that part of the coast where my habitation was.

I was dreadfully frightened (that I must acknowledge) when I perceived him to run my way; and especially when, as I thought, I saw him pursued by the whole body. However, I kept my present station, and my spirits began to recover, when I found that he outstripped them exceedingly in running, and gained ground of them, so that if he could but hold it out about half an hour, I saw easily he would get away from them all.

There was between them and my castle the creek, which I mentioned often at the first part of my story, when I landed my cargoes out of the ship; and this I knew he must necessarily swim over, or the poor wretch would be taken there; but when the savage escaping came thither, he made nothing of it, swam through in about thirty strokes, or thereabout, landed, and ran on with exceeding strength and swiftness. When the pursuers came to the creek, I found that two of them could swim, but the third could not, and that he standing on the other side, looked at the others, but went no farther; and soon after went softly back again, which, as it happened, was very well for him in the main.

I observed that the two who swam, were yet more than twice as long swimming over the creek, as the fellow that fled from them. It came now very warmly upon my thoughts, and indeed irresistibly, that now was my time to get me a servant, and perhaps a companion or assistant, and that I was called plainly by Providence, to save this poor creature's life. I immediately got down the ladders, with all possible expedition, fetched my two guns, for they were both at the foot of the ladders, as I observed above; and getting up again with the same haste to the top of the hill, I crossed towards the sea; and, having a very short cut all down hill, clapped myself in the way between the pursuers and the pursued, hallooing aloud to him that fled, who, looking back, was perhaps as much frightened at me as at them; but I beckoned with my hand to him to come back, and, in the mean time, I slowly advanced towards the two that followed: then rushing at once upon the foremost, I knocked him down with the stock of my piece. I was loath to fire, because I would not have the rest hear; though at that distance it would not have been easily heard; and being out of sight of the smoke too they would not easily know what to make of it. Having knocked this fellow down, the other who pursued him stopped, as if he had been frightened, and I advanced apace towards him; but as I came nearer, I perceived presently he had a bow and arrow, and was fitting it to shoot at me: so I was then necessitated to shoot at him first, which I did, and killed him at the first shot. The poor savage who fled, but had stopped, though he saw both his enemies fallen and killed (as he thought), yet was so frightened with the fire and noise of my piece, that he stood stock-still, and neither came forward, nor went backward, though he seemed rather inclined to fly still, than to come on. I hallooed again to him, and made signs to come forward, which he easily understood and came a little way, then stopped again, and then a little farther, and stopped again; and I could then perceive that he stood trembling, as if he had been taken prisoner, and had just been about to be killed, as his two enemies were. I beckoned him again to come to me, and gave him all the signs of encouragement I could think of; and he came nearer and nearer, kneeling down every ten or twelve steps, in token or acknowledgment for saving his life. I smiled at him, and looked pleasantly, and beckoned to him to come still nearer. At length he came close to me, and then he kneeled down



again, kissed the ground, and laid his head upon the ground, and taking me by the foot, set my foot upon his head; this, it seems, was in token of swearing to be my slave for ever. I took him up, and made much of him and encouraged him all I could. But there was more work to do yet; for I perceived the savage whom I knocked down was not killed, but stunned with the blow, and began to come to himself. So I pointed to him, and

showing him the savage, that he was not dead; upon this he spoke some words to me, and though I could not understand them, yet I thought they were pleasant to hear, for they were the first sound of a man's voice that I had heard, my own excepted, for above five-and-twenty years. But there was no time for such reflections now. The savage who was knocked down recovered himself so far as to sit upon the ground; and I perceived my savage began to be afraid; but when I saw that I presented my other piece at the man, as if I would shoot him; upon this my savage, for so I call him now, made a motion to me to lend him my sword, which hung naked in a belt by my side; so I did. He no sooner had it, but he runs to his enemy, and, at one blow, cut off his head so cleverly, no executioner in Germany could have done it sooner or better; which I thought very strange for one, who I had reason to believe, never saw a sword in his life before, except their own wooden swords. However, it seems, as I learned afterward, they make their wooden swords so sharp, so heavy, and the wood is so hard, they will cut off heads even with them, aye, and arms, and that at one blow too. When he had done this, he comes laughing to me in signs of triumph, and brought me the sword again, and with abundance of gestures, which I did not understand, laid it down, with the head of the savage that he had killed, just before me.

But that which astonished him most was to know how I had killed the other Indian so far off; so pointing to him, he made signs to me to let him go to him; so I bade him go, as well as I could. When he came to him, he stood like one amazed, looking at him; turned him about on one side, then on the other; looked at the wound the bullet had made, which, it seems, was just in his breast, where it had made a hole, and no great quantity of blood had flowed, but he had bled inwardly, for he was quite dead. Then he took up his bows and arrows and came back; so I turned to go away, and beckoned to him to follow me, making signs to him that more might come after them.

Upon this, he signed to me, that he should bury them with sand, that they might not be seen by the rest, if they followed; and so I made signs again to him to do so; he set to work, and in an instant he scraped a hole in the sand with his hands, big enough to bury the first in, and then dragged him into it, and covered him; and did so also by the other. I believe he had buried them both in a quarter of an hour; then calling him away, I carried him, not to my castle, but quite away to my cave, on the farther part of the island; so I did not let my dream come to pass in that part, viz., that he came into my grove for shelter.

Here I gave him bread, and a bunch of raisins to eat, and a draught of water, which I found he was in need of in great distress for, by his running; and, having refreshed him, I made signs for him to go down and sleep, pointing to a place where I had laid a great parcel of rice straw, and a blanket upon it, which I used to sleep upon myself, sometimes; so the poor creature lay down, and went to sleep.

He was a comely, handsome fellow; perfectly well made, with straight, long limbs, not too large; tall, and well-shaped, and, as I reckon, about twenty-six years of age. He had a very good countenance, not a fierce and surly aspect, but seemed to have something very manly in his face, and yet he had all the sweetness and softness of an European in his countenance, too, especially when he smiled. His hair was long and black, not curled like wool; his forehead very high and large, and a great vivacity and sparkling sharpness in his eyes. The color of his skin was not quite black, but very tawny, and yet not of an ugly, yellow, nauseous tawny, as the Brazilians, and Virginians, and other natives of America are, but of a bright kind of a dun olive color, that had in it some thing very agreeable, though not very easy to describe. His face was round and plump, his nose small, not flat like the Negroes, a very good mouth, thin lips, and his teeth fine, well set, and white as ivory. After he had slumbered, rather than slept, about half an hour, he waked again, and comes out of the cave to me, for I had been making my goats, which I had in the enclosure just by. When he espied me he came running to me, laying himself down again upon the ground, with all the possible signs of an humble, thankful respect, making many antic gestures, to show it. At last he lays his head flat upon the ground, close to my foot, and sets my other foot upon his head, as he had done before; and, after this, made all the signs to me of subjection, servitude, and submission imaginable, to let me know how much he would serve me as long as he lived. I understood him in many things, and let him know I was very well pleased with him. In a little time I began to speak to him, and teach him to speak to me; and first, I made him understand his name should be Friday, which was the day I saved his life; and I called him so for the memory of the time; I likewise taught him to say "Master," and let him know that was to be my name. I likewise taught him to say, "Yes," and "No," and to know the meaning of them. I gave him some milk in an earthen pot, and let him see me drink it before him, and sup my bread in it; and I gave him a cake of bread, to do the like, which he quickly complied with, and made signs that it was very good for him.

I kept there with him all that night; but as soon as it was day, I beckoned to him to come with me, and let him know I would give him some clothes; at which he seemed very glad, for he was stark naked. As we went by the place where we had buried the two men, he pointed exactly to the spot, and showed me the marks he had made to find them again, making signs to me that he would dig them up again and eat them; at this I appeared very angry, expressed my abhorrence of it, made as if I would vomit at the thought of it, and beckoned with my hand to him to come away, which he did immediately with great submission. I then led him up to the top of the hill, to see if his enemies were gone, and pulling out my glass, I looked, and saw plainly the place where they had been, but no appearance of them, or of their canoes; so that it was plain that they were gone, and had left their two comrades behind them, without any search after them.

But I was not content with this discovery; but having

now more courage, and consequently more curiosity, I took my man Friday with me, giving him the sword in his hand, with the bow and arrows at his back, which I found he could use very dexterously, making him carry one gun for me, and I two for myself, and away we marched to the place where these creatures had been; for I had a mind now to get some fuller intelligence of them. When I came to the place, my very blood ran chill in my veins, and my heart sunk within me at the horror of the spectacle. Indeed, it was a dreadful sight, at least, it was so to me, though Friday made nothing of it: the place was covered with human bones, the ground dyed with the blood, great pieces of flesh left here and there, half eaten, mangled, and scorched; and, in short, all the tokens of the triumphant feast they had been making there, after a victory over their enemies. I saw three skulls, five hands, and bones of three or four legs and feet, and abundance of other parts of the bodies, and Friday, by his signs made me understand that they brought over four prisoners to feast upon; that three of them were eaten up, and that he, pointing to himself, was the fourth; that there had been a great battle between them and their next king, whose subjects, it seems, he had been one of; and that they had taken a great number of prisoners, all which were carried to several places by those that had taken them in the fight, in order to feast upon them, as was done here by these wretches upon those they brought thither.

I caused Friday to gather all the skulls, bones, flesh, and whatever remained, and lay them together on a heap, and make a fire upon it and burn them all to ashes. I found Friday had still a hankering stomach after some of the flesh, and was still a cannibal in his nature; but I discovered so much abhorrence at the very thought of it, and at the least appearance of it, that he durst not discover it: for I had, by some means, let him know, that I would kill him if he offered it.

When he had done this, we came back to our castle, and there I fell to work for my man Friday. And first of all, I gave him a pair of linen drawers, which I had out of the gunner's chest I had mentioned, and which I found in the wreck; and which, with a little alteration, fitted him very well; then I made him a jerkin of goat's skin, as well as my skill would allow, and I was now grown a tolerably good tailor; and I gave him a cap, which I had made of a hare-skin, very convenient, and fashionable enough; and thus he was dressed, for the present, tolerably well; and nightly was he pleased to see himself almost as well clothed as his master. It is true, he went awkwardly in these things at first: wearing the drawers was very awkward to him; and the sleeves of the waistcoat galled his shoulders, and the inside of his arms; but after a little casing them where he complained they hurt him, and using himself to them, at length, as we took to them very well.

The next day after I came home to my hatch with him I began to consider where I should lodge him; and that I might do well for him, and yet be perfectly easy myself, I made a little tent for him, in the vacant place between my two fortifications, in the inside of the last, and in the outside of the first, and as there was a door or entrance there into my cave, I made a formal framed door-case, and a door to it, of boards, and set it up in the passage, a little within the entrance; and, causing the door to open on the inside, I barred it up in the night, taking in my adders too; so that Friday could not way come at me in the inside of my innermost wall, without making so much noise in getting over that it must needs awaken me; for my first wall had now a complete roof over it of long poles, covering all my tent, and leaning up to the side of the hill, which was again laid across with small sticks instead of laths, and then thatched over a great thickness with the rice straw, which was strong, like reeds; and at the hole, or place which was left to go in or out by the ladder, I had placed a kind of trap-door, which, if it had been attempted on the outside, would not have opened at all, but would have fallen down, and made a great noise; and, as to weapons, I took them all to my side every night.

But I needed none of all this precaution; for never had man a more faithful, loving, sincere servant than Friday was to me; without passion, sullenness, or design; perfectly obliged and engaged to his very affections were tied to me, like those of a child to a father; and, I dare say, he would have sacrificed his life for the saving mine, upon any occasion whatsoever. The many testimonies he gave me of this, put it out of doubt, and soon convinced me, that I needed to use no precautions as to my safety on his account.

I was greatly delighted with him, and made it my business to teach him all that was proper to make him useful, handy, and helpful; but especially to make him speak, and understand me when I spoke; and he was the aptest scholar that ever was, and particularly was so merry, so constantly diligent, and so pleased when he could but understand me, or make me understand him, that it was very pleasant for me to talk to him. And now my life began to be so easy, that I began to say to myself, that could I but have been safe from more savages, I cared not if I was never to remove from the place while I lived.

After I had been two or three days returned to my castle, I thought, that in order to bring Friday off from his horrid way of feeding, and from the relish of a cannibal's stomach, I ought to let him taste other flesh. So I took him out with me one morning to the woods; I went, indeed, intending to kill a kid out of my own flock, and bring it home and dress it; but, as I was going, I saw a cheest, lying down in the shade, and two young kids sitting by her. I caught hold of Friday: "Hold," said I, "stand still," and made signs to him not to stir: immediately I presented my piece, shot and killed one of the kids. The poor creature who had, at a distance, indeed, seen me kill the savage, his enemy, did not know nor could imagine how it was done, was sensibly surprised, trembled and shook, and looked so amazed, that I thought he would have sunk down. He did not see the kid I had shot at, nor perceive I had killed it, but I tipped up his waistcoat to feel if he was not wounded; and, as I found presently, thought I was resolved to kill him;



for he came and kneeled down to me, and embracing my knees, said a great many things I did not understand; but I could easily see, that his meaning was to pray me not to kill him.

I soon found a way to convince him that I would do him no harm; and, taking him up by the hand, laughed at him, and pointing to the kid which I had killed, beckoned to him to run and fetch it, which he did; and while he was wondering and looking to see how the creature was killed, I loaded my gun again, and by-and-by I saw a great fowl, like a hawk, sit upon a tree within shot; so, to let Friday understand a little what I would do, I called him to me again, pointing at the fowl, which was indeed a parrot, though I thought it had been a hawk; I say, pointing to the parrot and to my gun, and to the ground under the parrot, to let him see I would make him fall. I made him understand that I would shoot and kill that bird; accordingly, I fired, and made him look, and immediately he saw the parrot fall. He stood like one frightened again, notwithstanding all that I had said to him; and I found he was the more amazed, because he did not see me put anything into the gun; but thought there must be some wonderful fund of death and destruction in that thing, able to kill man, beast, bird, or anything near or far off; for the astonishment this created him was such as could not wear off for some time; and I believe, if I would have let him, he would have worshipped me and my gun; as for the gun itself, he would not so much as touch it for several days after; but would speak to it, and talk to it as if it had answered him, when he was by himself, which, as I afterwards learned of him, was to desire it not to kill him.



Well, after his astonishment was a little over at this, I pointed to him to run and fetch the bird I had shot, which he did, but staid some time; for the parrot, not being quite dead, had fluttered a good way off from the place where she fell. However, he found her, took her up, and brought her to me; and as I had perceived his ignorance about the gun before, I took this advantage to charge the gun again, and not let him see me do it, that I might be ready for any other mark that might present; but nothing more offered at that time. So I brought home the kid, and the same evening I took the skin off, and cut it out as well as I could; and having a pot for that purpose, I boiled or stewed some of the flesh, and made some very good broth: after I had begun to eat, some I gave some to my man, who seemed very glad of it, and liked it very well; but that which was the strangest to him was to see me eat salt with it. He made a sign to me, that the salt was not good to eat, and putting a little into his mouth, he seemed to nauseate it, and would spit and sputter at it, washing his mouth with fresh water after it; on the other hand, I took some meat in my mouth without salt, and I pretended to spit and sputter for want of salt, as fast as he had done at the salt; but it would not do; he would never care for salt with meat, or in his broth, at least, not for a great while, and then but a very little.

Having thus fed him with boiled meat and broth, I was resolved to feast him next day with roasting a piece of the kid: this I did by hanging it before the fire in a string, as I had seen many people do in England, setting two poles up, one on each side of the fire, and one across on the top, and tying the string to the cross stick, letting the meat turn continually. This Friday admired very much; but when he came to taste the flesh, he took so many ways to tell me how well he liked it, that I could not but understand him: and at last, he told me he would never eat man's flesh any more, which I was very glad to hear.

The next day I set him to work to beating some corn out, and sifting it in the manner I used to do, as I observed before; and he soon understood how to do it as well as I, especially after he had seen what the meaning of it was, and that it was to make bread of; for after that I let him see me make my bread, and bake it too; and in a little time Friday was able to do all the work for me, as well as I could do it myself.

I began now to consider, that, having two months to feed instead of one, I must provide more ground for my harvest, and plant a larger quantity of corn than I used to do, so I marked out a larger piece of land, and began to fence in the same manner as before, in which Friday not only worked very willingly, and very hard, but did it very cheerfully; and I told him what it was for, that it was for corn to make more bread, because he was now with me, and that I might have enough for him and myself too. He appeared very sensible of that part, and let me know that he thought I had much more labor upon me on his account than I had for myself, and that he would work the harder for me, if I would tell him what to do.

This was the pleasantest year of all the life I led in this place. Friday began to talk pretty well, and understand the names of almost everything I had occasion to call

for, and o. every place I had to send him to, and talk a great deal to me: so that in short I began now to have some use for my tongue again, which indeed I had very little occasion for before; that is to say about speech. Besides the pleasure of talking to him, I had a singular satisfaction in the fellow himself: his simple, unfeigned honesty, appeared to me more and more every day, and I began really to love the creature; and, on his side, I believe he loved me more than it was possible for him ever to love anything before.

I had a mind once to try if he had any hankering inclination to his own country again; and having taught him English so well that he could answer me almost any questions, I asked whether the nation he belonged to never conquered in battle. At which he smiled and said, "Yes, yes: we always fight the better;" that is, he meant, always get the better in a fight; and so we began the following discourse: "You always fight the better?" said I. "How came you to be taken prisoner then, Friday?" Friday. My nation beat much for all that.

Master. How beat? If your nation beat them, how came you to be taken?

Friday. They more than my nation in the place where we was: they take one, two, three and me. My nation over-beat them in the yonder place, where me no was: there my nation take one, two great thousand.

Master. But why did not your side recover you from the hands of your enemies then?

Friday. They run one, two, three, and me, and make go in the canoe: my nation have no canoe that time.

Master. Well, Friday, and what does your nation do with the men they take? Do they carry them away, and eat them as these did?

Friday. Yes, my nation eat mans too, all up.

Master. Where do they carry them?

Friday. Go to other place where they think.

Master. Do they come hither?

Friday. Yes, yes, them come hither: come other else place.

Master. Have you been here with them?

Friday. Yes, I been here. (Points to the N. W. side of the island, which it seems was their side.)

By this I understood that my man Friday had formerly been among the savages who used to come on shore, on the farther part of the island, on the said man-eating occasion that he was now brought for: and some time after, when I took courage to carry him to that side, being the same I formerly mentioned, he presently knew the place, and told me he was there once, when they eat up twenty men, two women, and one child: he could not tell twenty in English, but he numbered them by laying so many stones in a row, and pointing to me to tell them over.

I have told this passage, because it introduces what follows: that, after I had had this discourse with him, I asked him how far it was from our island to the shore, and whether the canoes were not often lost. He told me there was no danger, no canoes ever lost; but that, after a little way out to sea, there was a current, and a wind always one way in the morning, the other in the afternoon.

This I understood to be no more than the sets of the tide, as going out or coming in; but I afterwards understood it was occasioned by the great draught and reflux of the mighty river Oroonoke; in the mouth of which river, as I thought afterward, our island lay; and that this land which I perceived to the W. and N.W., was the great island Trinidad, on the north point of the mouth of the river. I asked Friday a thousand questions about the country, the inhabitants, the sea, the coast, and what nations were near: he told me all he knew with the greatest openness imaginable. I asked him the names of the several nations of his sort of people, but could get no other name but Caribs; from whence I easily understood, that these were the Caribbees which our maps place on that part of America which reaches from the mouth of the river Oroonoke to Guinea, and onward to St. Martha. He told me, that up a great way beyond the moon, that was, beyond the setting of the moon, which must be west from their country, there dwelt white-bearded men, like me, and pointed to my great whiskers, which I mentioned before; and that they had killed "much mans," that was his word; by all which I understood he meant the Spaniards, whose cruelties in America had been spread over the whole country, and were remembered by all the nations, from father to son.

I inquired if he could tell me how I might come from this island, and get among those white men: he told me yes, yes, I might go in "two canoes." I could not understand what he meant by "two canoes;" till at last, with great difficulty, I found he meant, that it must be in a large, great big canoe, as big as two canoes.

This part of Friday's discourse began to relish with me very well: and from that time I entertained some hopes that, one time or other, I might find an opportunity to make my escape from this place, and that this poor savage might be a means to help me to do it.

During the long time that Friday had now been with me, and that he began to speak to me, and understand me, I was not wanting to lay a foundation of religious knowledge in his mind; particularly I asked him one time, who made him. The poor creature did not understand me at all, but thought I had asked who was his father. But I took it by another handle, and asked him who made the sea, the ground he walked on, and the hills and woods. He told me, it was one old Benamuckee, that lived beyond all. He could describe nothing of this great person, but that he was very old; much older, he said, than the sea or the land, than the moon or the stars. I asked him then, if this old person had made all things, why did not all things worship him. He looked very grave, and with a perfect look of innocence said, "All things said O! to him." I asked him if the people who die in his country, went anywhere. He said, yes, they all went to Benamuckee. Then I asked him whether those they eat up went thither: he said, "Yes."

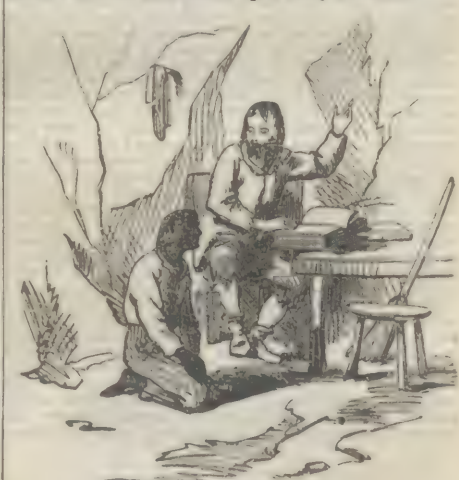
From these things I began to instruct him in the knowledge of the true God. I told him that the great Maker of all things lived up there, pointing up towards heaven; that he governs the world by the same power and providence by which he had made it: that he was omnipotent, could do everything for us, give everything to us take

everything from us. and thus, by degrees, I opened his eyes. He listened with great attention, and received with pleasure the notion of Jesus Christ being sent to redeem us, and of the manner of making our prayer to God, and his being able to hear us, even in heaven. He told me one day, that if our God could hear us up beyond the sun, he must needs be a greater God than their Benamuckee, who lived but a little way off, and yet could not hear, till they went up to the great mountains where he dwelt, to speak to him. I asked him if ever he went thither to speak to him; he said, no; they never went that were young men; none went thither but the old men, whom he called their Oowokee, that is, as I made him explain it to me, their religious, or clergy; and that they went to say O, (so he called saying prayers,) and then came back, and told them what Benamuckee said. By this, I observed, that there is a priestcraft even amongst the most blinded, ignorant Pagans in the world; and the policy of making a secret religion, in order to preserve the veneration of the people to the clergy, is not only to be found in the Roman, but perhaps among all religions in the world, even among the most brutish and barbarous savages.

I endeavored to clear up this fraud to my man Friday, and told him, that the pretence of their old men going up to the mountains, to say O to their God Benamuckee, was a cheat; and their bringing word from thence what he said, was much more so; that if they met with any answer, or spoke with any one there, it must be with an evil spirit; and then I entered into a long discourse with him about the devil, the original of him, his rebellion against God, his enmity to man, the reason of it, his settling himself up in the dark parts of the world to be worshipped instead of God, and as God, and the many stratagems he made use of to delude mankind to their ruin; how he had secret access to our passions, and to our affections, and adapted his snares to our inclinations, so as to cause us to be our own tempters, and to run upon our own destruction, by our own choice.

I always applied myself to reading the Scriptures, and to let him know, as well as I could, the meaning of what I read; and he again, by his serious inquiries and questions, made me a much better scholar in the Scripture knowledge than I should ever have been by my own mere private reading.

After Friday and I became more intimately acquainted, and that he could understand almost all I said to him, and speak fluently, though in broken English, to me, I acquainted him with my own story, or at least so much of it as related to my coming into the place, how I had lived there, and how long. I let him into the mystery (for such it was to him) of gunpowder and bullet, and taught him how to shoot. I gave him a knife, which he was wonderfully delighted with, and I made him a belt, with a frog hanging to it, such as in England we wear hangers in; and, in the frog, instead of a hanger, I gave him a hatchet, which was not only a good weapon in some cases, but much more useful, upon many occasions.



I described to him the countries of Europe, and particularly England, which I came from; how we lived, how we worshipped God, how we behaved to one another, and how we traded in ships to all parts of the world. I gave him an account of the wreck which I had been on board of, and showed him, as near as I could, the place where she lay; but she was beaten in pieces long before, and quite gone.

I showed him the ruins of our boat, which was lost when I escaped, and which I could not stir with my whole strength then, but was now fallen almost all to pieces. Upon seeing this boat, Friday stood musing a great while, and said nothing. I asked him what it was he studied upon: at last, says he: "Me see such boat like come to place at my nation."

I did not understand him a good while; but at last, when I examined further into it, I understood by him, that a boat, such as that had been, came on shore upon the country where he lived; that is, as he explained it, was driven there by stress of weather. I presently imagined, that some European ship must have been cast away upon their coast, and the boat might get loose and drive ashore; but was so dull that I never once thought of men making escape from a wreck thither, much less whence they might come; so I only inquired after a description of the boat.

Friday described the boat to me well enough; but brought me better to understand him when he added, with some warmth, "We save the white mans from drown." Then I presently asked him if there were any white mans, as he called them, in the boat: "Yes," he said, "the boat full of white mans." I asked him, "How many?" He



told me, upon his fingers, seventeen. I asked him then, "What became of them?" He told me, "They live, they dwell at my nation."

This put new thoughts again into my head; for I presently imagined, that these might be the men belonging to the ship that was cast away in sight of my island, as I now called it; and who, after the ship was struck on the rock, and they saw her inevitable loss, had saved themselves in their boat, and were landed upon that wild shore among the savages.

Upon this I inquired of him more critically, what was become of them; he assured me they lived still there; that they had been there about four years; that the savages let them alone, and gave them victuals to live. I asked him how it came to pass they did not kill them, and eat them. He said, "No, they make brother with them;" that is, as I understood him, a truce; and then he added: "They eat no man, but when make the war fight;" that is to say, they never eat any men, but such as come to fight with them, and are taken in battle.

It was after this, some considerable time, that being on the top of the hill, at the east side of the island, from whence I had, in a clear day, discovered the main or continent of America, Friday, the weather being very serene, looks very earnestly towards the main land, and, in a kind of surprise, falls a jumping and dancing, and calls out to me, for I was at some distance from him: I asked him what was the matter. "O Joy!" says he, "O glad! There see my country! there my nation!"

I observed an extraordinary sense of pleasure appear in his face, and his eyes sparkled, and his countenance discovered a strange eagerness, as if he had a mind to be in his own country again; and this observation of mine put a great many thoughts into me, which made me at first not so easy about my new man Friday, as I was before; and I made no doubt, but that if Friday could get back to his own nation again, he would not only forget all his religion, but all his obligation to me; and would be forward enough to give his countrymen an account of me, and come back, perhaps, with a hundred or two of them, and make a feast upon me, at which he might be as merry as they used to be with those of his enemies when they were taken in war.

But I wronged the poor, honest creature very much, for which I was very sorry afterwards; however, as my jealousy increased, and held me some weeks, I was a little more circumspect, and not so familiar and kind to him as before; in which I was certainly in the wrong, too, the honest, grateful creature having no thought about it, but what consisted of the best principles, both as a religious Christian, and as a grateful friend, as appeared afterwards to my full satisfaction.

Whilst my jealousy of him lasted, you may be sure I was every day pumping him to see if he would discover any of the new thoughts which I suspected were in him; but I found everything he said was honest, and so innocent that I could find nothing to nourish my suspicion, and in spite of all my uneasiness, he made me at last esteem him his own again; nor did he in the least perceive that I was uneasy; and therefore I could not suspect him of deceit.

One day, walking up the same hill, but the weather being hazy at sea, so that we could not see the continent I called to him, and said: "Friday, do not you wish your self in your own country, your own nation?" "Yes," he said, "I be much O glad to be at my own nation." "What would you do there?" said I: "would you turn wild again, eat man's flesh again, and be savage, as you were before?" He looked full of concern, and shaking his head, said: "No, no; Friday tell them to live good, tell them to pray God, tell them to eat corn-bread, cattle-flesh, milk: no eat man again."

"Why, then," said I to him, "they will kill you." He looked grave at that, and then said: "No, they no kill me; they willing love learn." He meant by this they would be willing to learn: he added, they learned much of the bearded men that came in the boat. Then I asked him if he would go back to them. He smiled at that, and said he could not swim so far. I told him I would make a canoe for him; he told me he would go, if I would go with him. "I go!" said I: "why, they will eat me, if I come there." "No, no," said he, "me make them not eat you; me make them much love you." He meant, he would tell them how I had killed his enemies, and saved his life, and so he would make them love me. Then he told me, as well as he could, how kind they were to seventeen white men, or bearded men, as he called them, who came on shore there, in distress.

From this time, I confess, I had a mind to venture over, and see if I could possibly join with these bearded men, who, I made no doubt, were Spaniards or Portuguese; not doubting, but, if I could, we might find some method to escape from thence, being upon the continent, and a good company together, better than I could from an island, forty miles off the shore, and alone, without help. So, after some days, I took Friday to work again, by way of discourse; and told him, I would give him a boat to go back to his own nation; and accordingly carried him to my frigate, which lay on the other side of the island; and, having cleared it of water, (for I always kept it sunk in the water,) I brought it out, and showed it him, and we both went into it.

I found he was a most dexterous fellow at managing it, would make it go almost as fast again as I could: so when he was in I said to him, "Well, now, Friday, shall we go to your nation?" He looked very dull at my saying so; which, it seems, was because he thought the boat too small to go so far. I told him then I had a bigger; so the next day I went to the place where the first boat lay which I had made, but which I could not get into the water. He said that was big enough; but then as I had taken no care of it, and it had lain two or three-and twenty years there, the sun had laid it so, that such a boat would do very well, and would carry "much enough vittles, drink, bread;" that was his way of talking.

Upon the whole, I was by this time so fixed upon my design of going over with him to the continent, that I told him we would go and make one as big as that, and he should go home in it. He answered not one word, and looked very grave and sad. I asked him what was the mat-

ter with n.m. He asked me again thus, "Why you angry mad with Friday? What me done?" I asked him what he meant; I told him I was not angry with him at all. "No angry! No angry!" says he, repeating the words several times: "why send Friday home away to my nation?" "Why," said I, "Friday, did you not say you wished you were there?" "Yes, yes," says he, "wish we both there; no wish Friday there, no master there." In a word, he would not think of going there without me. "I go there, Friday!" said I: "what should I do there?" He turned very quickly upon me at this: "You do great deal much good," says he; "you teach wild men to be good, sober tame man; you tell them know God, pray God, and live new life." "Alas! Friday," said I, "thou knowest not what thou sayest; I am but an ignorant man myself." "Yes, yes," says he, "you teach me good, you teach me good." "No, no, Friday," said I, "you shall go without me; leave me by myself, as I was before." He looked confused again at that word; and, running to one of the hatchets which he used to wear, he takes it up hastily, and gives it to me. "What must I do with this?" said I to him. "You take kill Friday," says he. "What must I kill you for?" said I, again. He returns very quickly, "What you send Friday away for? Take kill Friday; no send Friday away." This he spoke so earnestly, that I saw tears stand in his eyes. In a word, I so plainly discovered the utmost affection in him to me, and a firm resolution in him, that I told him then and often after, that I would never send him away from me if he were willing to stay with me.

Upon the whole, as I found, by all his discourse, a settled affection to me, and that nothing should part him from me, so I found all the foundation of his desire to go to his own country was laid in his ardent affection to the people, and his hopes of my doing them good; a thing, which as I had no notion of myself, so I had not the least thought or intention, or desire of undertaking it. But still I found a strong inclination to my attempting an escape, as above, founded on the supposition gathered from the former discourse, viz.: that there were seventeen bearded men there; and therefore, without any more delay, I went to work with Friday, to find out a great tree proper to fell, and make a large peragua, or canoe, to undertake the voyage. There were trees enough in the island to have built a little fleet, not of peraguas and canoes only, but even of good large vessels; but the main thing I looked at was to get one so near the water, that we might launch it when it was made, to avoid the mistake I committed at first.

At last Friday pitched upon a tree; for I found he knew much better than I what kind of wood was fittest for it; nor can I tell to this day, what wood to call the tree we cut down, except that it was very like the tree we call fustic, or between that and the Nicaragua wood, for it was much of the same color and smell. Friday was for burning the hollow or cavity of this tree out to make it into a boat; but I showed him how rather to cut it out with tools, which, after I showed him how to use, he did it very handily; and in about a month's hard labor, we finished it, and made it very handsome, especially when with our axes, which I showed him how to handle, we cut and hewed the outside into the true shape of a boat. After this, however, it cost us near a fortnight's time to get her along, as it were, inch by inch, upon great rollers, into the water; but when she was in, she would have carried twenty men with ease.

When she was in the water, and though she was so big, it amazed me to see with what dexterity and how swift my man Friday would manage her, turn her, and paddle her along. So I asked him, if he would, and if we might venture over in her. "Yes," he said, "me venture over in her very well, though great blow wind." However, I had a farther design that he knew nothing of, and that was to make a mast and a sail, and to fit her with an anchor and cable. As to a mast, that was easy enough to get; so I pitched upon a straight young cedar-tree, which I found near the place, and which there was a great plenty of in the island; and I set Friday to work to cut it down, and gave him directions how to shape and order it; but as to the sail, that was my particular care. I knew I had old sails, or rather pieces of old sails enough, but as I had had them now twenty-six years by me, and not been very careful to preserve them, not imagining that I should ever have this kind of use for them, I did not doubt but they were all rotten; and indeed most of them were so. However, I found two pieces which appeared pretty good, and with these I went to work; and with a great deal of pains, and awkward tedious stitching (you may be sure), for want of needles, I at length made a three-cornered ugly thing, like what we call in England a shoulder-of-mutton sail to go with a boom at the bottom, and a little sprit at the top, such as usually our ships' long-boats sail with, and such as I best knew how to manage, because it was such a one as I used in the boat in which I made my escape from Barbary, as related in the first part of my story.

I was near two months performing this last work, viz.: rigging and fitting my masts and sails; for I finished them very complete, making a small stay, and a sail, or foresail to it, to assist, if we should turn to windward and which was more than all, I fixed a rudder to the stern of her, to steer with; and though I was but a bungling shipwright, yet as I knew the usefulness and even necessity of such a thing, I applied myself with so much pains to do it, that at last I brought it to pass; though, considering the many dull contrivances I had for it, that failed, I think it cost me almost as much labor as making the boat.

After all this was done, I had my man Friday to teach as to what belonged to the navigation of my boat; for though he knew very well how to paddle the canoe, he knew nothing what belonged to a sail and a rudder, and was the more amazed when he saw me work the boat to-and-fro in the sea, by the rudder, and how the sail jibed, and filled this way or that way, as the course we sailed changed; I say when he saw this, he stood like one astonished and amazed. However, with a little use, I made all these things familiar to him, and he became an expert sailor, except that as to the compass, I could make him understand very little of that; on the other hand, as there was very little cloudy weather, and seldom

or never any fogs in those parts, there was the less occasion for a compass, seeing the stars were always to be seen by night, and the shore by day, except in the rainy seasons; and then nobody cared to stir abroad, either by land or sea.

I was now entered on the seven-and-twentieth year of my captivity in this place; though the three last years that I had this creature with me ought rather to be left out of the account, my habitation being quite of another kind, than in all the rest of the time. I kept the anniversary of my landing here, with the same thankfulness to God for his mercies as at first; and if I had such cause of acknowledgment at first, I had much more so now, having such additional testimonies of the care of Providence over me, and the great hopes I had of being effectually and speedily delivered; or, I had an invincible impression upon my thoughts, that my deliverance was at hand, and that I should not be another year in this place. However, I went on with my husbandry, digging, planting, fencing, as usual; I gathered and cured my grapes, and did every necessary thing as before.

The rainy season was in the mean time upon me, when I kept more within doors than at other times; so I had stowed our new vessel as secure as we could, bringing her up into the creek, where, as I said in the beginning, I landed my rafts from the ship; and hauling her up to the shore at high-water mark, I made my man Friday dig a little dock, just big enough to hold her, and just deep enough to give her water enough to float in; and that when the tide was out, we made a strong dam across the end of it, to keep the water out; and so she lay dry, as to the tide from the sea; and to keep the rain off, we laid a great many boughs of trees so thick, that she was as well thatched as a house; and thus we waited for the month of November and December, in which I designed to make my adventure.

When the settled season began to come in, as the thought of my design returned with the fair weather, I was preparing daily for the voyage; and the first thing I did was to lay by a certain quantity of provisions, being the stores for our voyage; and intended in a week or fortnight's time to open the dock, and launch out our boat. I was busy one morning upon something of this kind, when I called to Friday, and bade him go to the sea-shore, and see if he could find a turtle or tortoise, a thing which we generally got once a week, for the sake of the eggs, as well as the flesh. Friday had not been long gone, when he came running back, and flew over my outward wall, or fence, like one that felt not the ground, or the steps he set his feet on; and before I had time to speak to him, he cried out to me: "O master! O master! O sorrow! O bad!" "What's the matter, Friday?" said I. "O yonder there," says he, "one, two, three canoe! one, two, three!" By this way of speaking, I concluded there were six; but, on inquiry, I found there were but three. "Well, Friday," said I, "do not be frightened;" so I heartened him up as well as I could. However, I saw the poor fellow was most terribly scared; for nothing ran in his head but that they were come to look for him, and would cut him in pieces and eat him; and the poor fellow trembled so that I scarce knew what to do with him. I comforted him as well as I could, and told him I was in as much danger as he, and that they would eat me as well as him. "But," said I, "Friday, we must resolve to fight them. Can you fight, Friday?" "Me shoot," says he; "but there come many great number." "No matter for that," said I again, "our guns will fright them we do not kill." So I asked him, whether, if I resolved to defend him, he would defend me, and stand by me, and do just as I bade him. He said, "Me die, when you bid die, master." So I went and fetched a good dram of rum, and gave him; for I had made so good a husband of my rum, that I had a great deal left. When he had drunk it, I made him take two fowling-pieces, which we always carried, and loaded them with swan-shot, as big as small pistol-bullets; then I took four muskets, and loaded them with two slugs, and five small bullets each; and my two pistols I loaded with a brace of bullets each. I hung my great sword, as usual, naked by my side, and gave Friday his hatchet.

When I had thus prepared myself, I took my perspective glass, and went up to the side of the hill, to see what I could discover; and I found quickly, by my glass, that there were one-and-twenty savages, three prisoners, and three canoes; and that their whole business seemed to be the triumphant banquet over these three human bodies (a barbarous feast indeed!); but nothing more than as I had observed was usual with them.

I observed, also, that they were landed, not where they had done when Friday made his escape, but nearer to my creek, where the shore was low, and where a thick wood came close almost down to the sea. This, with the abhorrence of the inhuman errand these creatures came about, so filled me with indignation, that I came down again to Friday and told him I was resolved to go down to them, and kill them all; and asked if he would stand by me. He had now gotten over his fright, and his spirits being raised with the dram I had given him, he was very cheerful; and told me, as before, "he would die, when I bid die."

In this fit of fury, I took first and divided the arms which I had charged as before, between us: I gave Friday one pistol to stick in his girdle, and three guns upon his shoulder; and I took one pistol and the other three myself, and in this posture we marched out. I took a small bottle of rum in my pocket, and gave Friday a large bag with more powder and bullets; and as to orders, I charged him to keep close behind me, and not to stir, or shoot, or do anything till I bade him; and in the meantime, not to speak a word. In this posture I fetched a compass to my right hand of near a mile, as well to get over the creek as to get into the wood; so that I might come within shot of them, before I should be discovered, which I had seen by my glass it was easy to do.

I had advanced the wood, and with all possible wariness and silence Friday following close at my heels, I marched till I came to the skirt of it, on the side which was next to them; only that one corner of the wood lay between me and them. Here I looked softly to Friday, and showing him a great tree, which was just at the corner of the wood, I bade him go to the tree, and bring me word



If he could see there plainly what they were doing. He did so, and came immediately back and said, they might be plainly viewed there; that they were all about the fire, eating the flesh of one of their prisoners; and that another lay bound upon the sand, a little from them, whom, he said, they would kill next, and which fired the very soul within me. He told me it was not one of their nation, but one of the bearded men whom he had told me of, that came to their country in the boat. I was filled with horror at the very naming the white-bearded man; and, going to the tree, I saw plainly, by my glass, a white man, who lay upon the beach of the sea with his hands and feet tied with flags, or things like rushes; and that he was a European, and had clothes on.

There was another tree, and a little thicker beyond it, about fifty yards nearer to them than the place where I was, which by going a little way, about, I saw I might come at undiscovered, and that then I should be within half-shot of them. So I withheld my passion, though I was indeed enraged to the highest degree; and, going back about twenty paces, I got behind some bushes which held all the way till I came to the other tree, and then I came to a little rising ground, which gave me a full view of them, at the distance of about eighty yards.

I had now not a moment to lose; for nineteen of the dreadful wretches sat upon the ground, all close huddled together, and had just sent the other two to butcher the poor Christian, and bring him, perhaps, limb by limb, to their fire; and they were stooped down to untie the bands at his feet. I turned to Friday, "Now, Friday," said I, "do as I bid thee." Friday said he would. "Then, Friday," said I, "do exactly as you see me do; fall in nothing." So I set down one of my muskets, and the fowling piece, upon the ground, and Friday did the like by his; and with the other musket I took my aim at the savages, bidding him to do the like; then asking him if he was ready, he said, "Yes." "Then fire at them," said I; and the same moment I fired also.

Friday took his aim so much better than I, that on the side that he shot he killed two of them, and wounded three more; and, on my side, I killed one, and wounded two. They were, you may be sure, in a dreadful consternation; and all of them who were not hurt, jumped upon their feet immediately, but did not know which way to run, or which way to look; for they knew not from whence their destruction came. Friday kept his eyes close on me, that as I had bid him, he might observe what I did: so soon as the first shot was made, I threw down the piece, and took up the fowling-piece, and Friday did the like; he sees me cock and present; he did the same again. "Are you ready, Friday?" said I. "Yes," said he. "Let fly, then," said I, "in the name of God;" and with that I fired again among the amazed wretches and so did Friday; and as our pieces were now loaded with what I call swan-shot, or small pistol-bullets, we found only two drop; but so many were wounded, they ran about yelling and screaming like mad creatures, all bloody and miserably wounded, most of them; whereof three more fell quickly after, though not quite dead.

"Now, Friday," said I, laying down the discharged pieces and taking up the musket, which was yet loaded. "Follow me," said I; which he did, with a great deal of courage: upon which I rushed out of the wood, and showed myself, and Friday close at my feet. As soon as I perceived they saw me, I shouted as loud as I could, and bade Friday do so too; and running as fast as I could, which, by the way, was not very fast, being loaded with arms as I was, I made directly towards the poor victim, who was, as I said, lying upon the beach or shore, between the place where they sat and the sea. The two butchers who were just going to work with him, had left him, at the surprise of our first fire, and fled in a terrible fright to the sea-side, and had jumped into a canoe, and three more of the rest had made the same way. I turned to Friday, and bade him step forwards, and fire at them: he understood me immediately, and, running about forty yards to be near them, he shot at them, and I thought he had killed them all; for I saw them all fall in a heap in the boat; though I saw two of them up again quickly; however, he killed two of them, and wounded the third, so that he lay down in the bottom of the boat, as if he had been dead.

While my man Friday fired at them, I pulled out my knife, and cut the flags that bound the poor victim; and, loosing his hands and feet, I lifted him up, and asked him, in the Portuguese tongue, what he was. He answered, in Latin, "Christianus;" but was so weak and faint that he could scarcely stand, or speak. I took my bottle out of my pocket, and gave it him, making signs that he should drink, which he did; and I gave him a piece of bread, which he ate. Then I asked him what countryman he was; and he said, "Español;" and being a little recovered, let me know, by all the signs he could possibly make, how much he was in my debt for his deliverance. "Señor," said I, with as much Spanish as I could make up, "we will talk afterward, but we must fight now; if you have any strength left, take this pistol and sword, and lay about you." He took them very thankfully, and no sooner had he the arms in his hands, but, as if they had put new vigor into him, he flew upon his murderers, like a fury, and had cut two of them in pieces in an instant; for the truth is, as the whole was a surprise to them, so the poor creatures were so much frightened with the noise of our pieces, that they fell down for mere amazement and fear, and had no more power to attempt their own escape, than their flesh had to resist our shot; and that was the case of those five that Friday shot in the boat; for as three of them fell with the hurt they received, so the other two fell with the fright.

I kept my piece in my hand still, without firing, being willing to keep my charge ready, because I had given the Spaniard my pistol and sword; so I called to Friday, and bade him run up to the tree from whence we first fired, and fetch the arms which lay there, that had been discharged; which he did with great swiftness; and then giving him my musket, I set down myself to load all the rest again, and bade them come to me when they wanted. While I was loading these pieces, there happened a fierce engagement between the Spaniard and one of the savages,

who made at him with one of their great wooden swords, the same weapon that was to have killed him before, if I had not prevented it. The Spaniard, who was as bold and as brave as could be imagined, though weak, had fought this Indian a good while, and had cut him two great wounds on his head; but the savage, being a stout lusty fellow, closing in with him, had thrown him down (being faint), and was wringing my sword out of his hand, when the Spaniard, though undermost, wisely quitting the sword, drew the pistol from his girdle, shot the savage through the body, and killed him upon the spot, before I, who was running to help, could come near him. Friday, being now left at his liberty, pursued the flying wretches with no weapon in his hand but his hatchet; and with that he dispatched those three who, as I said before, were wounded at first and fallen, and all the rest he could come up with; and the Spaniard coming to me for a gun, I gave him one of the fowling-pieces, with which he pursued two of the savages, and wounded them both; but as he was not able to run, they both got from him into the wood where Friday pursued them and killed one of them; but the other did finally escape him, and though sorely wounded, he did leap into the sea, and swam, with all his might, off to those who were left in the canoe, which three in the canoe, with one wounded—we know not whether he died or no—were all that escaped our hands of one-and-twenty. The account of the rest is as follows:—

- 1 Killed at our first shot from the tree.
- 2 Killed at the next shot.
- 3 Killed by Friday in the boat.
- 4 Killed by ditto, of those at first wounded.
- 1 Killed by ditto, in the wood.
- 3 Killed by the Spaniard.
- 4 Killed, being found dropped here and there of their wounds, or killed by Friday in his chase of them.
- 4 Escaped in the boat, whereof one was wounded, if not dead.

— In all.

Those that were in the canoe worked hard to get out of gun-shot; and though Friday made two or three shots at them, I did not find that he hit any of them. Friday would fain have had me take one of their canoes, and pursue them, and indeed I was very anxious about their escape, lest carrying the news home to their people, they should come back, perhaps with two or three hundred of their canoes, and devour us by mere multitude: so I consented to pursue them by sea; and running to one of their canoes, I jumped in, and bade Friday follow us; but, when I was in the canoe, I was surprised to find another poor creature lie there alive, bound hand and foot, as the Spaniard was, for the slaughter, and almost dead with fear, not knowing what the matter was, for he had not been able to look up over the side of the boat; he was tied so hard, neck and heels, and had been tied so long that he had really little life in him.

I immediately cut the twisted flags, or rushes, which they had bound him with, and would have helped him up; but he could not stand or speak, but groaned most piteously, believing, it seems, still, that he was only bound in order to be killed.



When Friday came to him, I bade him speak to him, and tell him of his deliverance; and pulling out my bottle, made him give the poor wretch a dram, which, with the news of his being delivered, revived him, and he sat up in the boat; but when Friday came to hear him speak, and looked in his face, it would have moved any one to tears to have seen how Friday kissed him, embraced him, hugged him, cried, laughed, hallooed, jumped about, danced, sung, then cried again, wrung his hands, beat his own face and head, and then sung and jumped about again, like a distracted creature. It was a good while before I could make him speak to me, or tell me what was the matter; but when he came a little to himself, he told me that it was his father.

It is not easy for me to express how it moved me, to see what ecstacy and filial affection had worked in this poor savage, at the sight of his father, and of his being delivered from death; nor, indeed, can I describe half the extravagances of his affection after this; for he went into the boat, and out of the boat, a great many times. When he went in to him, he would sit down by him, open his breast, and hold his father's head close to his bosom, half an hour together, to nourish it; then he took his arms and ankles, which were numbed and stiff with the binding, and chafed and rubbed them with his hands; and I, perceiving what the case was, gave him some rum out of my bottle, to rub them with, which did them a great deal of good.

This action put an end to our pursuit of the canoe with the other savages, who were now gotten almost out of sight; and it was happy for us that we did not, for it blew so hard within two hours after, and before they could be gotten a quarter of their way, and continued blowing so hard all night, and that from the north-west, which was against them, that I could not suppose their boat could live, or that they ever reached their own coast.

But to return to Friday; he was so busy about his father,

that I could not find it my heart to take him off, for some time; but after I thought he could leave him a little, I called him to me, and he came jumping and laughing, and pleased to the highest extreme.

Then I asked him, if he had given his father any bread. He shook his head, and said, "None; ugly dog eat all up self." So I gave him a cake of bread out of a little pouch I carried on purpose; I also gave him a dram for himself, but he would not taste it, but carried it to his father. I had in my pocket also two or three bunches of my raisins, so I gave him a handful of them for his father. He had no sooner given his father these raisins, but I saw him come out of the boat, and run away as if he had been bewitched. He ran at such a rate, (for he was the swiftest fellow of his foot that ever I saw,) I say, he ran at such a rate, that he was out of sight, as it were, in an instant; and though I called and hallooed too after him, it was all one; away he went, and, in a quarter of an hour, I saw him come back again, though not so fast as he went; and as he came nearer, I found his pace was slacker, because he had something in his hand.

When he came up to me, I found he had been quite home for an earthen jug, or pot, to bring his father some fresh water; and that he had got two more cakes or loaves of bread. The bread he gave me, but the water he carried to his father; however, as I was very thirsty too, I took a little sip of it. This water revived his father more than all the rum or spirits I had given him; for he was just fainting with thirst.

When his father had drunk, I called to him to know if there was any water left; he said, "Yes;" and I bade him give it to the poor Spaniard, who was in as much want of it as his father; and I sent one of the cakes that Friday brought, to the Spaniard, too, who was indeed very weak, and was reposing himself upon a green place, under the shade of a tree, and whose limbs were also very stiff, and very much swelled with the rude bandage he had been tied with. When I saw that upon Friday's coming up to him with the water, he sat up, and drank, and took the bread, and began to eat. I went up to him, and gave him a handful of raisins. He looked up in my face with all the tokens of gratitude and thankfulness that could appear in any countenance: but so weak, notwithstanding he had so exerted himself in the fight, that he could not stand up upon his feet; he tried to do it two or three times, but was really not able, his ankles were so swelled, and so painful to him; so I bade him sit still, and caused Friday to rub his ankles, and bathe them with rum, as he had done his father's.

I observed the poor affectionate creature every two minutes, or perhaps less, all the while he was here, turned his head about, to see if his father was in the same place and posture as he left him sitting; and at last he found he was not to be seen, at which he started up, and, without speaking a word, flew with that swiftness to him, that one could scarce perceive his feet to touch the ground as he went; but when he came he only found that he had laid himself down to ease his limbs. So Friday came back to me presently; and I then spoke to the Spaniard to let Friday help him up, if he could, and lead him to the boat, and then he should carry him to our dwelling, where I would take care of him; but Friday, a lusty young fellow, took the Spaniard quite up upon his back, and carried him away to the boat, and set him down softly upon the side or gunwale of the canoe, with his feet in the inside of it, and then lifted him quite in, and set him close to his father, and presently stepping out again, lunched the boat off, and paddled it along the shore faster than I could walk, though the wind blew pretty hard; so he brought them both safe into our creek, and leaving them in the boat, runs away to fetch the other canoe. As he passed me, I spoke to him, and asked him whither he went. He told me, "Go fetch more boat." So away he went, like the wind; for sure never man or horse ran like him; and he had the other canoe in the creek almost as soon as I got to it by land; so he waited me over, and then went to help our new guests out of the boat, which he did; but they were neither of them able to walk, so that poor Friday knew not what to do.

To remedy this, I went to work in my thoughts, and calling to Friday to bid them sit down on the bank while he came to me, I soon made a kind of land-barrow to lay them on, and Friday and I carried them up both together upon it between us. But when we got them to the outside of our wall, or fortification, we were at a worse loss than before, for it was impossible to get them over; and I was resolved not to break it down. So I set to work again, and Friday and I, in about two hours' time, made a very handsome tent, covered with old sails, and above that with boughs of trees, being in the space of young wood which I had planted; and here we made them two beds of such things as I had, viz.: of good rice-straw, with blankets laid upon it to lie on, and another to cover them on each bed.

My island was now peopled, and I thought myself very rich in subjects; and it was a merry reflection which I frequently made, how like a king I looked. First of all, the whole country was my own mere property, so that I had an undoubted right of dominion. Secondly, my people were perfectly subjected; I was the absolute lord and lawgiver; they all owed their lives to me, and were ready to lay down their lives, if needs be, for me. It was remarkable, too, I had but three subjects, and they were of three different religions; my man Friday was a protestant; his father was a pagan and cannibal, and the Spaniard was a papist. However, I allowed liberty of conscience throughout my dominions. But this is by two weak, rescued prisoners, and given them shelter, and a place to rest them upon, I began to think of making some provision for them; and the first thing I did, I ordered Friday to take a yearling goat, out of my particular flock, to be killed. Then I cut off the hinder-quarter, and chopping it into small pieces, I set Friday to work to boiling and stewing, and made them a very good dish of flesh and broth, having put some barley and rice also into the broth; and as I cooked it without doors, for I made no fire within my inner wall, so I carried it all



fr. to the new tent; and having set a table there for them I sat down and eat my dinner also with them; and, as well as I could, cheered them and encouraged them, Friday being my interpreter, especially to his father, and I did to the Spaniard, too; for the Spaniard spoke the language of the savages pretty well.

After we had dined, or rather supped, I ordered Friday to take one of the canoes, and go and fetch our muskets and other fire-arms, which, for want of time, we had left upon the place of battle; and the next day I ordered him to go and bury the dead bodies of the savages, which lay open to the sun, and would presently be offensive; also to bury the horrid remains of their barbarous feast, which I knew were pretty much, and which I could not think of doing myself; nay, I could not bear to see them, if I went that way. All which he punctually performed, and defaced the very appearance of the savages being there; so that when I went again, I could hardly know where it was, other than by the corner of the wood pointing to the place.

I then began to enter into conversation with my two new subjects. I first set Friday to inquire of his father what he thought of the escape of the savages in that canoe, and whether we might expect a return of them with a power too great for us to resist. His first opinion was, that the savages in the boat never could live out the storm which blew that night they went off, but must of necessity be drowned, or driven south to those other shores, where they were as sure to be devoured as they were to be drowned, if they were cast away; but as to what they would do if they came safe on shore, he said he knew not; but it was his opinion that they were so dreadfully frightened with the manner of their being attacked, the noise and the fire, that he believed they would tell their people they were all killed by thunder and lightning, and not by the hand of man; and that the two that appeared (viz., Friday and I) were heavenly spirits, or furies, come down to destroy them, and not men with weapons. This, he said, he knew, because he heard them all cry out so in their language, one to another; for it was impossible to them to conceive that a man could dart fire, and speak thunder, and kill at a distance, without lifting up the hand, as was done. And this old savage was right; for, as I understood since, by other hands, the savages of that part never attempted to go over to the island afterward. They were so terrified with the accounts given by the four men (for it seems they did escape the sea), that they believed, whosoever went to that enchanted island, would be destroyed with fire from the gods.

This, however, I knew not, and therefore was under continual apprehensions for a good while, and kept always upon my guard, I and all my army; for as we were now four of us, I would have ventured upon a hundred of them fairly, in the open field, at any time.

In a little, however, no more canoes appearing, the fear of their coming wore off, and I began to take my former thoughts of a voyage to the main into consideration, being likewise assured by Friday's father, that I might depend upon good usage from their nation, on his account, if I would go.

But my thoughts were suspended, when I had a serious discourse with the Spaniard, and when I understood that there were sixteen more of his countrymen and Portuguese, who having been cast away, and made their escape to that side, lived there at peace with the savages, but were very sore put to it for necessities, and indeed for life. I asked him all the particulars of their voyage, and found they were a Spanish ship, bound from Rio de la Plata to Havannah, being directed to leave their loading there, which was hides and silver, and bring back what European goods they could meet with there; that they had five Portuguese seamen on board, whom they took out of another wreck; that five of their own men were drowned when first their ship was lost; and that these escaped through infinite danger and hazards, and arrived almost starved on the cannibal coast, where they expected to have been devoured every moment.

He told me they had some arms with them, but they were perfectly useless, for that they had neither powder nor ball, the washing of the sea having spoiled all their powder, but a little which they used at their first landing to provide themselves some food.

I asked him what he thought would become of them there, and if they had formed no design of making any escape. He said they had had many consultations about it, but that having neither vessel, nor tools to build one, nor provisions of any kind, their counsels always ended in tears and despair.

I asked him how he thought they would receive a proposal from me, which might tend towards an escape; and whether, if they were all here, it might not be done. I told him, with freedom, I feared mostly their treachery and ill usage of me, if I put my life into their hands; for that gratitude was no inherent virtue in the nature of man; nor did men always square their dealings by the obligations they had received, so much as they did by the advantages they expected. I told him it would be very hard that I should be the instrument of their deliverance, and that they should afterwards make me their prisoner in New Spain, where an Englishman was certain to be made a sacrifice, what necessity or what accidentsoever brought him thither; and that I had rather be delivered up to the savages, and be devoured alive, than fall into the merciless paws of the priests, and be carried into the Inquisition. I added, that otherwise I was persuaded, if they were all here, we might, with so many hands, build a bark large enough to carry us all away, either to the Brazilian southward, or to the islands, or Spanish coast northward; but that if, in requital, they should, when I had put weapons into their hands, carry me, by force, among their own people, I might be ill-used by my kindness to them, and make my case worse than it was before.

He answered with a great deal of candor and ingenuity, that their condition was so miserable, and they were sensible of it, that they would abhor the thought of using any man unkindly that should contribute to their deliverance; and that if I pleased, he would go to them with the old man, and discourse with them about it, and return

again, and bring me their answer; that he would make conditions with them, upon their solemn oath, that they should be absolutely under my leading, as their commander and captain; and they should swear upon the holy Sacraments and the Gospel, to be true to me, and to go to such a Christian country as I should agree to, and no other; and to be directed wholly and absolutely by my orders, till they were landed safely in such country as I intended; and that he would bring a contract from them, under their hands, for that purpose.

Then he told me he would first swear to me himself, that he would never stir from me as long as he lived, till I gave him orders; and that he would take my side to the last drop of blood. If there should happen the least breach of faith among his countrymen.

He told me they were all of them very civil, honest men, and they were under the greatest distress imaginable, having neither weapons nor clothes, nor any food, but at the mercy and discretion of the savages, out of all hopes of ever returning to their own country; and that he was sure, if I would undertake their relief, they would live and die by me.

Upon these assurances, I resolved to venture to relieve them, if possible, and to send the old savage and the Spaniard over to them to treat. But when he had gotten all things in readiness to go, the Spaniard himself started an objection, which had so much prudence in it on the one hand, and so much sincerity on the other hand, that I could not but be very well satisfied in it; and, by his advice, put off the deliverance of his comrades for at least half a year. The case was this:

He had been with us now about a month, during which time I had let him see in what manner I had provided, with the assistance of Providence, for my support; and he saw evidently what stock of corn and rice I had raised up, which, as it was more than sufficient for myself, so it was not sufficient, at least without good husbandry, for my family, now it was increased to number four; but much less would it be sufficient to victual our vessel, if we should build one, for a voyage to any of the Christian colonies of America. So he told me he thought it would be more advisable to let him, and the two others, dig and cultivate some more land, as much as I could spare seed to sow; and that we should wait another harvest, that we might have a supply of corn for his countrymen when they should come; for want might be a temptation to them to disagree, or not to think themselves delivered otherwise than out of one difficulty into another. "You know," said he, "the children of Israel, though they rebelled at first at their being delivered out of Egypt, rebelled even against God himself, that delivered them, when they came to want bread in the wilderness."

His caution was so reasonable, and his advice so good, that I could not but be very well pleased with his proposal, as well as I was satisfied with his fidelity.

So we fell to digging, all four of us, as well as the wooden tools we were furnished with permitted; and in about a month's time, by the end of which it was seed-time, we had gotten as much land sowed and trimmed up as we sowed twenty-two bushels of barley on, and sixteen jars of rice, which was, in short, all the seed we had to spare; nor indeed did we leave ourselves barley sufficient for our own food, for the six months that we had to expect our crop; that is to say, reckoning from the time we set our seed aside for sowing, for it is not to be supposed it is six months in the ground in that country.

Having now society enough, and our number being sufficient to put us out of fear of the savages, if they had come, unless their numbers had been very great, we went freely all over the island, wherever we found occasion; and as here we had our escape or deliverance upon our thoughts, it was impossible, at least for me, to have the means of it out of mine. To this purpose I marked out several trees, which I thought fit for our purpose, and I set Friday and his father to cutting them down; and then I caused the Spaniard, to whom I imparted my thoughts on that affair, to oversee and direct the work. I showed them with what indefatigable pains I had hewed a large tree into single planks, and I caused them to do the like, till they had made about a dozen large planks of good oak, near two foot broad, thirty-five feet long, and from two inches to four inches thick. What prodigious labor it took up, any one may imagine.

At the same time, I contrived to increase my little flock of tame goats as much as I could; and to this purpose I made Friday and the Spaniard go out one day, and myself with Friday the next day; for we took our turns, and by this means we got about twenty young kids to breed up with the rest; for, whenever we shot the dam, we saved the kids, and added them to our flock. But above all, the season for curing the grapes coming on, I caused such a prodigious quantity to be hung up in the sun, that I believe, had we been at Alicante, where the raisins of the sun are cured, we should have filled sixty or eighty barrels; and these, with our bread, were a great part of our food, and very good living, too, I assure you; for it is an exceeding nourishing food.

It was now harvest; and our crop in good order. It was not the most plentiful increase I had seen in the land, but, however, it was enough to answer our end; for, from our twenty-two bushels of barley, we brought in and threshed out above two hundred and twenty bushels of barley, and the like in proportion of the rice, which was store enough for our food to the next harvest, though all the sixteen Spaniards had been on shore with me; or, if we had been ready for a voyage, it would very plentifully have victualled our ship, to have carried us to any part of the world, that is to say, of America. When we had thus housed and secured our magazine of corn, we fell to work to make more wicker-work, viz.: great baskets in which we kept it; and the Spaniard was very handy and dexterous at this part, and often blamed me that I did not make some things for defense of this kind of work, but I saw no need of it.

And now having a full supply of food for all the guests I expected, I gave the Spaniard leave to go over to the main, to see what he could do with those he had left behind him there. I gave him a strict charge in writing not to bring any man with him, who would not first swear in the presence of himself, and the old savage, that he would not way injure, fight with, or attack the person

he should find in the island, who was so kind as to send for them, in order to their deliverance; but that they would stand by and defend him against all such attempts; and wherever they went, would be entirely under and subjected to, his command; and that this should be put in writing, and signed with their hands. How we were to have this done, when I knew they had neither pen nor ink, that indeed was a question which we never asked.

Under these instructions, the Spaniard and the old savage (the father of Friday), went away in one of the canoes, which they might be said to come in, or rather were brought in, when they came as prisoners to be devoured by the savages.

I gave each of them a musket with a firelock on it, and about eight charges of powder and ball, charging them to be very good husbands of both, and not to use either of them but upon urgent occasions.

This was a cheerful work, being the first measures need by me, in view of my deliverance, for now twenty-seven years and some days. I gave them provisions of bread, and of dried grapes, sufficient for themselves for many days, and sufficient for all their countrymen for about eight days' time; and wishing them a good voyage, I let them go, agreeing with them about a signal they should hang out at their return, by which I should know them again, when they came back, at a distance, before they came on shore.

They went away, with a fair gale, on the day that the moon was at the full; by my account, in the month of October; but as to the exact reckoning of days, after I had once lost it, I could never recover it again; nor had I ever kept the number of years so punctually as to be sure that I was right, though, as it proved, when I afterwards examined my account, I found I had kept a true reckoning of years.

It was no less than eight days I waited for them, when a strange and unforeseen accident intervened, of which the like has not, perhaps, been heard of in history. I was fast asleep in my hut one morning, when my man Friday came running in to me, and called aloud, "Master, master, they are come, they are come."

I jumped up, and regardless of danger, I went out, as soon as I could get my clothes on, through my little grove, which (by the way) was by this time grown to be a very thick wood; I say, regardless of danger, I went without my arms, which it was not my custom to do; but I was surprised, when, turning my eyes to the sea, I presently saw a boat, at about a league and a half's distance, standing in for the shore, with a shoulder-of-mutton sail, as they call it, and the wind blowing pretty fair to bring them in. Also I observed presently, that they did not come from that side which the shore lay on, but from the southernmost end of the island. Upon this, I called Friday in, and bade him lie close, for these were not the people we looked for, and that we did not know yet whether they were friends or enemies.

In the next place, I went in to fetch my perspective glass, to see what I could make of them; and having taken the ladder out, I climbed up to the top of the hill, as I used to do when I was apprehensive of anything, and to take my view the plainer, without being discovered.

I had scarce set my foot on the hill, when my eye plainly discovered a ship, lying at anchor, at about two leagues and a half's distance from me, S. S. E., but not above a league and a half from the shore. By my observation, it appeared plainly to be an English ship, and the boat appeared to be an English long-boat.

I cannot express the confusion I was in; though the joy of seeing a ship, and one which, I had reason to believe, was manned by my own countrymen, and consequently friends, was such as I cannot describe; but yet I had some secret doubts hang about me, I cannot tell from whence they came, bidding me keep upon my guard. In the first place, it occurred to me to consider what business an English ship could have in that part of the world, since it was not the way to or from any part of the world where the English had any traffic; and I knew there had been no stories to drive them in there, as it distresses; and that if they were English really, it was most probable that they were here upon no good design, and I had better continue as I was, than fall into the hands of thieves and murderers.

Let no man despise the secret hints and notices of danger, which sometimes are given him, when he may think there is no possibility of its being real. That such hints and notices are given us, I believe few that have made any observations on things, can deny; that they are certain discoveries of an invisible world, and a converse of spirits, we cannot doubt; and if the tendency of them seems to warn us of danger, why should we not suppose they are from some friendly agent (whether an angel, or inferior and insubordinate, is not the question) and that they are given for our good?

The present question abundantly confirms me in the justice of this reasoning; for had I not been made cautious by this secret admonition, come it from whence it will, I had been undone inevitably, and in a far worse condition than before, as you will see presently.

I had not kept myself long in this posture, when I saw the boat draw near the shore, as if they looked for a creek to thrust in at, for the convenience of landing; however, as they did not come quite far enough, they did not see the little inlet where I formerly landed my rats, but ran their boat on shore upon the beach, at about half a mile from me, which was very happy for me; for otherwise they would have landed just, as I may say, at my door, and soon would have beaten me out of my castle, and perhaps have plundered me of all I had.

When they were on shore, I was fully satisfied they were Englishmen, at least, most of them: one or two I thought were Dutch, but it did not prove so. There were in all eleven men, whereof three I found were unarmed, and (as I thought) bound; and when the first four or five of them jumped on shore, they took those three out of the boat as prisoners. One of the three I could perceive, using the most passionate gestures of entreaty, affliction, and despair, even to a kind of extravagance; the other two, I could perceive, lifted up their hands sometimes,



and appeared concerned indeed, but not to such a degree as the first.

I was confounded at the sight, and knew well what the meaning of it should be. Friday called out to me, in English, as well as he could. "Oh, master, you see English means eat prisoners as well as savage men." "Why," said I, "Friday, do you think they are going to eat them then?" "Yes," says Friday, "they will eat them." "No, no," said I, "Friday: I am afraid they will murder them, indeed; but you may be sure they will not eat them."

All this while I had no thought of what the matter really was, but stood trembling with the horror of the sight, expecting every moment when the three prisoners should be killed; nay, once I saw one of the villains lift up his arm, with a great cutlass (as the seamen call it) or sword, to strike one of the poor men; and I expected to see him fall every moment, at which all the blood in my body seemed to run chill in my veins.

I wished heartily now for my Spaniard, and the savage that was gone with him; or that I had any way to have come undiscovered within shot of them, that I might have rescued the three men; for I saw no fire-arms they had among them; but it fell out to my mind another way.

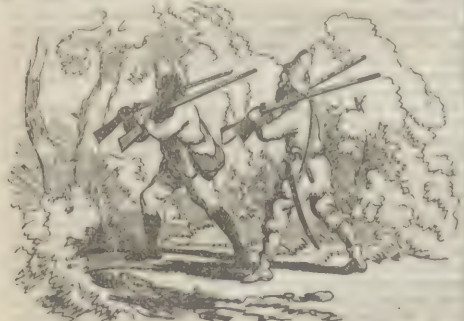
After I had observed the outrageous usage of the three men, by the insolent seamen, I observed the fellows ran scattering about the land, as if they wanted to see the country. I observed also, that the three other men had liberty to go where they pleased; but they sat down all three upon the ground very pensive, and looked like men in despair.

This put me in mind of the first time when I came on shore, and began to look about me: how I gave myself over for lost, how wildly I looked around me, what dreadful apprehensions I had, and how I lodged in the tree all night, for fear of being devoured by wild beasts.

As I know nothing that night of the supply I was to receive, by the providential driving of the ship nearer the land, by the storms and tides, by which I have since been so long nourished and supported; so these three poor, desolate men, knew nothing how certain of deliverance and supply they were, how near it was to them, and how effectually and really they were in a condition of safety, at the same time as they thought themselves lost, and their case desperate.

So little do we see before us in the world, and so much reason have we to depend cheerfully upon the great Maker of the world, that he does not leave his creatures so absolutely destitute, but that in the worst circumstances they have always something to be thankful for, and are sometimes nearer their deliverance than they imagine; nay, are even brought to their deliverance by the means which they seem to be brought to their destruction.

It was just at the top of high-water when these people came on shore, and partly while they stood perleying with the prisoners they brought, and partly while they rambled about to see what kind of a place they were in, they had carelessly staid till the tide was spent, and the water was ebb'd considerably away, leaving their boat aground.



They had left two men in the boat, who, as I found afterwards, having drunk a little too much brandy, fell asleep. However, one of them waking sooner than the other, and finding the boat too fast aground for him to stir it, hallooed for the rest, who were straggling about, upon which they all soon came to the boat; but it was past all their strength to launch her, the boat being very heavy, and the shore on that side being a soft, oozy sand, almost like a quicksand.

In this condition, like true seamen, who are, perhaps, the least of all mankind given to forethought, they gave it over, and away they strolled about the country again; and I heard one say aloud to another (calling them off from the boat), "Why, let her alone, Jack, can't ye? She'll float next tide." By which I was fully confirmed in the main inquiry, of what countrymen they were.

All this while I kept myself close, not once daring to stir out of my castle any farther than to my place of observation, near the top of the hill; and very glad I was to think how well it was fortified. I knew it was no less than ten hours before the boat could be afloat again, and by that time it would be dark, and I might be more at liberty to see their motions, and to hear their discourse, if they had any.

In the meantime, I fitted myself up for a battle, as before, though with more caution, knowing I had to do with another kind of enemy than I had at first. I ordered Friday also, whom I had made an excellent marksman with his gun, to load himself with arms. I took myself two fowling-pieces, and I gave him three muskets. My figure indeed was very fierce: I had my formidable goat-skin coat on, with the great cap I mentioned, a naked sword by my side, two pistols in my belt, and a gun upon each shoulder.

It was my design, as I said above, not to have made any attempt till it was dark; but about two o'clock, being the heat of the day, I found, that, in short, they were all gone straggling into the woods, and, as I

thought, were all laid down to sleep. The three poor distressed men, too anxious for their condition to get any sleep, were, however, set down under the shelter of a great tree, at about a quarter of a mile from me, and as I thought, out of sight of any of the rest.

Upon this, I resolved to discover myself to them, and learn something of their condition. Immediately I marched, in the figure above; my man Friday at a good distance behind me, as formidable for his arms as I, but not making quite so staring a spectre-like figure as I did.

I came as near them undiscovered as I could, and then, before any of them saw me, I called aloud to them, in Spanish: "What are ye, gentlemen?"

They started up at the sound, but were ten times more confounded when they saw me, and the uncouth figure that I made. They made me no answer at all, but I thought I perceived them just going to fly from me, when I spoke to them in English: "Gentlemen," said I, "do not be surprised at me: perhaps you may have a friend near you, when you do not expect it." "He must be sent directly from Heaven, then," said one of them, very gravely to me, and pulling off his hat at the same time; "for our condition is past the help of man." "All help is from Heaven, sir," said I. "But can you put a stranger in the way how to help you; for you seem to me to be in some great distress? I saw you when you landed; and when you seemed to make application to the brutes that came with you, I saw one of them lift up his sword to kill you."

The poor man, with tears running down his face, and trembling, looking like one astonished, returned, "Am I talking to God, or man? Is it a real man, or an angel?" "Be in no fear about that, sir," said I. "If God had sent an angel to relieve you, he would have come better clothed, and armed after another manner, than you see me. Pray in aid to assist you, you see, I have one servant, only; we have arms and ammunition. Tell us freely: can we serve you? What is your case?"

"Our case, sir," said he, "is too long to tell you, while our murderers are so near; but, in short, sir, I was commander of that ship; my men having mutinied against me, they have been hardly prevailed on not to murder me, and, at last, have set me on shore in this desolate place, with these two men with me, one my mate, the other a passenger, where we expected to perish, believing the place to be uninhabited, and know not yet what to think of it."

"Where are those brutes, your enemies?" said I. "Do you know where they are gone?" "There they are, sir," said he, pointing to a thicket of trees. "My heart trembles for fear they have seen us, and heard you speak; if they have, they will certainly murder us all."

"Have they any fire-arms?" said I. He answered, they had only two pieces, and one which they left in the boat. "Well, then," said I, "leave the rest to me. I see they are all asleep. It is an easy thing to kill them all: but shall we rather take them prisoners?" He told me there were two desperate villains among them, that it was scarce safe to show any mercy to; but if they were secured, he believed all the rest would return to their duty. I asked him which they were. He told me he could not at that distance describe them; but he would obey my orders in anything I would direct. "Well," said I, "let us retreat out of their view or bearing, lest they awake; and we will resolve farther." So they willingly went back with me, till the woods covered us from them.

"Look you, sir," said I, "if I venture upon your deliverance, are you willing to make two conditions with me?" He anticipated my proposals, by telling me, that both he and the ship, if recovered, should be wholly directed and commanded by me in everything; and if the ship was not recovered he would live and die with me. In what part of the world soever I would send him; and the two other men said the same.

"Well," said I, "my conditions are but two: first, that while you stay on this island with me, you will not pretend to any authority here; and if I put arms into your hands, you will, upon all occasions, give them up to me, and do no prejudice to me or mine, upon this island; and, in the mean time, be governed by my orders."

"Secondly, that if the ship is or may be recovered, you will carry me and my man to England, passage-free."

He gave me all the assurances that the invention and faith of a man could devise, that he would comply with these most reasonable demands; and, besides, would owe his life to me, and acknowledge it upon all occasions as long as he lived.

"Well, then," said I, "here are three muskets for you, with powder and ball. Tell me next what you think is proper to be done." He showed all the testimony of his gratitude that he was able; but offered to be wholly guided by me. I told him I thought it was hard venturing anything, but the best method I could think of, was to fire upon them at once, as they lay; and if any were not killed at the first volley, and offered to submit, we might save them, and so put it wholly upon God's providence to direct the shot.

He said very modestly, that he was loath to kill them, if he could help it; but that those two were incorrigible villains, and had been the authors of all the mutiny in the ship; and if they escaped, we should be undone still; for they would go on board and bring the whole ship's company, and destroy us all. "Well, then," said I, "necessity legitimates my advice; for it is the only way to save our lives." However, seeing him still cautious of shedding blood, I told him they should go themselves, and usnage as they found convenient.

In the middle of this discourse, we heard some of them awake, and soon after we saw two of them on their feet. I asked him if either of them were the men, who, he had said, were the heads of the mutiny. He said, "No." "Well, then," said I, "you may let them escape, and Providence seems to have wakened them on purpose to save themselves. Now," said I, "if the rest escape you, it is your fault."

Animated with this, he took the musket I had given him in his hand, and a pistol in his belt, and his two comrades with him, with each man a piece in his hand. The two men who were with him, going first, made some

noise, at which one of the seamen, who was awake, turned about, and, seeing them coming, cried out to the rest; but it was too late then, for the moment he cried out, they fired, I mean the two men, the captain wisely reserving his own piece. They had so well aimed their shot at the men they knew, that one of them was killed on the spot, and the other very much wounded; but not being dead, he started up upon his feet, and called eagerly for help to the other; but the captain, stepping to him, told him it was too late to cry for help, he should call upon God to forgive his villainy, and, with that word,



knocked him down with the stock of his musket, so that he never spoke more. There were three more in the company, and one of them was also slightly wounded. By this time I was come; and when they saw their danger, and that it was in vain to resist, they begged for mercy. The captain told them he would spare their lives, if they would give him any assurance of their abhorrence of the treachery they had been guilty of, and would swear to be faithful to him in recovering the ship, and afterwards in carrying her back to Jamaica, from whence they came. They gave him all the protestations of their sincerity that could be desired, and he was willing to believe them, and spare their lives, which I was not against; only I obliged him to keep them bound, hand and foot, while they were upon the island.

While this was doing, I sent Friday, with the captain's mate, to the boat, with orders to secure her, and bring away the oars and sail, which they did; and, by the way, three straggling men, that were happily for them parted from the rest, came back, upon hearing the guns fired; and seeing their captain, who was before their prisoner, now their conqueror, they submitted to be bound, also; and so our victory was complete.

It now remained that the captain and I should inquire into one another's circumstances. I began first, and told him my whole history, which he heard with an attention even to amazement, and particularly at the wonderful manner of my being furnished with provisions and ammunition; and, indeed, as my story is a whole collection of wonders, it affected him deeply; but when he reflected from thence upon himself, and how I seemed to have been preserved there on purpose to save his life, the tears ran down his face, and he could not speak a word more.

After this communication was at an end, I carried him, and his two men, into my apartment, leading them in just where I came out, viz., at the top of the house, where I refreshed them with such provisions as I had, and showed them all the contrivances I had made, during my long, long, inhabiting that place.

All I showed them, all I said to them, was perfectly amazing; but, above all, the captain admired my fortification, and how perfectly I had concealed my retreat with a grove of trees, which, having been now planted near twenty years, and the trees growing much faster than in England, was become a little wood, and so thick that it was impassable in any part of it, but at that one side where I had reserved my little winding passage into it. This, I told him, was my castle and my residence; but that I had a seat in the country, as most princes have, whither I could retreat upon occasion, and I would show him that, too, another time; but, at present, our business was to consider how to recover the ship. He agreed with me as to that; but told me, he was perfectly at a loss what measures to take, for that there were still six-and-twenty hands on board, who, having entered into a cursed conspiracy, by which they had all forfeited their lives to the law, would be hardened in it now by desperation, and would carry it on, knowing that if they were reduced, they should be brought to the gallows as soon as they came to England, or to any of the English colonies; and that therefore there would be no attacking them with so small a number as we were.

I mused for some time upon what he had said, and found it was a very rational conclusion; and that therefore something was to be resolved on very speedily, as well to draw the men on board into some snare for their surprise, as to prevent their landing upon us and destroying us. Upon this it presently occurred to me, that, in a little while, the ship's crew, wondering what was become of their comrades, and of the boat, would certainly come on shore in their other boat, to see for them; and that then, perhaps, they might come armed, and be too strong for us; this, he allowed, was rational.

Upon this I told him the first thing we had to do was to stave the boat, which lay upon the beach, so that they might not carry her off; and taking everything out of her, leave her so far useless as not to be fit to swim. Accordingly we went on board, took the arms which were left on board out of her and whatever else we found



there, which was a bottle of brandy, another of rum, a few biscuit cakes, a horn of powder, and a great lump of sugar, in a piece of canvas; the sugar was five or six pounds; all which was very welcome to me, especially the brandy and sugar, of which I had had none left so many years.

When we had carried all these things on shore (the oars, mast, sail, and rudder of the boat, were carried away before), we knocked a great hole in her bottom, that if they had come strong enough to master us, yet they could not carry off the boat.

Indeed, it was not much in my thoughts, that we could be capable to recover the ship; but my view was, that if they went away without the boat, I did not much question to make her fit again to carry us away to the Leeward Islands, and call upon our friends, the Spaniards, in my way; for I had them still in my thoughts.

While we were thus preparing our designs, and had first, by main strength, heaved the boat upon the beach, so high that the tide would not float her off at high-water mark, and besides had broken a hole in her bottom too big to be quickly stopped, and were sat down musing what we should do, we heard the ship fire a gun, and saw her make a waft with her ensign, as a signal for the boat to come on board; but no boat stirred, and they fired several times, making other signals for the boat.

At last, when all the signals and firings proved fruitless, and they found the boat did not stir, we saw them (by the help of my glasses) hoist another boat out, and row towards the shore; and we found, as they approached, that there were no less than ten men in her, and that they had fire-arms with them.

As the ship lay almost two leagues from the shore, we had a full view of them as they came, and a plain sight of the men, even of their faces: because the tide having set them a little to the east of the other boat, they rowed up under shore, to come to the same place where the other had landed, and where the boat lay.

By this means, I say, we had a full view of them, and the captain knew the persons and characters of all the men in the boat, of whom he said that there were three very honest fellows, who, he was sure, were led into this conspiracy by the rest, being overpowered and frightened.

But that as for the boatswain, who, it seems, was the chief officer among them, and all the rest, they were as outrageous as any of the ship's crew; and were, no doubt, made desperate in their new enterprise; and terribly apprehensive he was that they would be too powerful for us.

I smiled at him, and told him that men in our circumstances were past the operations of fear; that seeing almost every condition that could be, was better than that which we were supposed to be in, we ought to expect that the consequence, whether death or life, would be sure to be a deliverance. I asked him what he thought of the circumstances of my life, and whether a deliverance were not worth venturing for. "And where, sir," said I, "is your belief of my being preserved here on purpose to save your life, which elevated you a little while ago? For my part, there seems to be but one thing amiss in all the prospect of it."

"What's that?" said he. "Why," said I, "tis that, as you say, there are three or four honest fellows among them, which should be spared; had they been all of the wicked part of the crew, I should have thought God's providence had singled them out, to deliver them into your hands; for, depend upon it, every man of them that comes ashore is our own, and shall die or live, as he behaves to us."

As I spoke this with a raised voice and cheerful countenance, I found it greatly encouraged him; so we set vigorously to our business. We had upon the first appearance of the boat's coming from the ship, considered of separating our prisoners, and had indeed secured them effectually.

Two of them, of whom the captain was less assured than ordinary, I sent with Friday, and one of the three delivered men, to my cave, where they were remote enough, and out of danger of being heard or discovered, or of finding their way out of the woods, if they could have delivered themselves. Here they left them bound, but gave them provisions, and promised them, if they continued there quietly, to give them their liberty in a day or two; but that if they attempted their escape, they should be put to death without mercy. They promised faithfully to bear their confinement with patience, and were very thankful that they had such good usage, as to have provisions and a light left them; for Friday gave them candles (such as we made ourselves) for their comfort; and they did not know but that he stood sentinel over them at the entrance.

The other prisoners had better usage; two of them were pinioned indeed, because the captain was not free to trust them; but the other two were taken into my service, upon their captain's recommendation, and upon their solemnly engaging to live and die with us; so, with them and the three honest men, we were seven men, well armed; and I made no doubt we should be able to deal well enough with the ten that were coming, considering that the captain had said there were three or four honest men among them also.

As soon as they got to the place where their other boat lay, they ran their boat in to the beach, and came all on shore, hauling the boat up after them, which I was glad to see; for I was afraid they would rather have left the boat at an anchor, some distance from the shore, with some hands in her to guard her; and so we should not be able to seize the boat.

Being on shore, the first thing they did, they ran all to the other boat; and it was easy to see they were under a great surprise, to find her stripped, as above, of all that was in her, and a hole in her bottom.

After they had mused awhile upon this, they set up two or three great shouts, hallooing with all their might, to try if they could make their companions hear; but it was all to no purpose. Then they came all close in a ring, and fired a volley of their small-arms, which indeed we heard, and the echoes made the woods ring; but it was all one; those in the cave were sure could not hear, and those in our keeping, though they heard it well enough, yet durst give no answer to them.

They were so astonished at the surprise of this, that, as they told us afterwards, they resolved to go all on board again to their ship, and let them know there, that the men were all murdered, and the long-boat staved: accordingly, they immediately launched their boat again, and got all of them on board.

The captain was terribly amazed, and even confounded at this, believing they would go on board the ship again, and set sail, giving their comrades up for lost, and so he should still lose the ship, which he was in hopes he should have recovered: but he was quickly as much frightened the other way.

They had not long been put off with the boat, but we perceived them all coming on shore again; but with this new measure in their conduct, which, it seems, they consulted together upon; viz., to leave three men in the boat, and the rest to go on shore, and go up into the country, to look for their fellows.

This was a great disappointment to us; for now we were at a loss to know what to do; for our seizing those seven men on shore would be no advantage to us, if we let the boat escape, because they would then row away to the ship; and then the rest of them would be sure to weigh, and set sail, and so our hope of recovering the ship would be lost.

However, we had no remedy but to wait and see what the issue of things might present. The seven men came on shore, and the three who remained in the boat, put her off to a good distance from the shore, and came to an anchor to wait for them, so that it was impossible for us to come at them in the boat.

Those that came on shore kept close together, marching towards the top of a little hill, under which my habitation lay; and we could see them plainly, though they could not perceive us. We could have been very glad they would have come nearer to us, so that we might have fired at them; or that they would have gone farther off, that we might have come abroad.

But when they were come to the brow of the hill, where they could see a great way into the valleys and woods, which lay towards the north-east part, and where the island lay lowest, they shouted and hallooed till they were weary; and not caring, it seems, to venture far from the shore, nor far from one another, they sat down together under a tree, to consider it. Had they thought fit to have gone to sleep there, as the other party of them had done, they had done the job for us: but they were too full of apprehensions of danger to venture to go to sleep, though they could not tell what the danger was they had to fear neither.

The captain made a very just proposal to me upon this consultation of theirs, viz., that perhaps they would a fire a volley again, to endeavor to make their fellows hear, and that we should all rally upon them, just at the juncture when their pieces were all discharged, and they would certainly yield, and we should have them without bloodshed. I liked the proposal, provided it were done while we were near enough to come up with them before they could load their pieces again.

But this event did not happen, and we lay still a long time, very irrevocable what course to take: at length I told him there would be nothing to be done in my opinion till night; and then, if they did not return to the boat, perhaps we might find a way to get between them and the shore, and so might use some stratagem with them in the boat, to get them on shore.

We waited a great while, though very impatient for their removing, and were very uneasy; when, after long consultations, we saw them all start up, and march down towards the sea. It seems they had such dreadful apprehensions upon them of the danger of the place, that they resolved to go on board the ship again, give their companions over for lost, and so go on with their intended voyage with the ship.

As soon as I perceived them go towards the shore, I imagined it to be as it really was, that they had given over the search, and were for going back again; and the captain, as soon as I told him my thoughts, was ready to sink at the apprehensions of it: but I presently thought of a stratagem to fetch them back again; and which answered my end to a tittle.

I ordered Friday, and the captain's mate, to go over the little creek westward, towards the place where the savages came on shore when Friday was rescued, and as soon as they came to a little rising ground, at about half a mile's distance, I bade them halloo as loud as they could, and wait till they found the seamen heard them; that as soon as they heard the seamen answer them, they should return it again, and then keeping out of sight, take a round, always answering when the others hallooed, to draw them as far into the island and among the woods as possible; and then wheel about again to me, by such ways as I directed.

They were just going into the boat when Friday and the mate hallooed, and they presently heard them, and answering, ran along the shore westward, towards the voice they heard, when they were presently stopped by the creek, where the water being up, they could not get over, and called for the boat to come up, and set them over, as indeed I expected.

When they had set themselves over, I observed that the boat being gone up a good way into the creek, and, as it were, in a harbor within the land, they took one of the three men out of her to go along with them, and left only two in the boat, having fastened her to the stump of a little tree on the shore.

This was what I wished for; and immediately leaving Friday and the captain's mate to their business, I took the rest with me, and crossing the creek out of their sight, we surprised the two men before they were aware, one of them lying on shore, and the other being in the boat: the fellow on shore was between sleeping and waking, and going to start up, the captain, who was foremost, ran in upon him, and knocked him down, and then called out to him in the boat to yield, or he was a dead man.

There needed very few arguments to persuade a single man to yield, when he saw five men upon him, and his comrade knocked down: besides, this was, it seems, one of the three who were not so hearty in the mutiny as the rest of the crew, and therefore was easily persuaded not

only to yield, but afterwards to join very sincerely with us.

In the meantime, Friday and the captain's mate so well managed the business with the rest, that they drew them, by hallooing and answering, from one hill to another, and from one wood to another, till they not only heartily tired them, but left them where they were, very sure they could not reach back before it was dark: and indeed they were heartily tired themselves also by the time they got back to us.

We had nothing now to do but to watch for them in the dark, and to fall upon them, so as to make sure work with them.

It was several hours after Friday came back to me before they came back to their boat; and we could hear the foremost of them, long before they came up, calling to those behind to come along, and could also hear them answer, and complain how lame and tired they were, and not able to come any faster, which was very welcome news to us.

At length they came up to the boat; but it is impossible to express their confusion when they found the boat fast aground in the creek, the tide ebbed out, and their two men gone. We could hear them call to one another, in the most lamentable manner, telling one another they were gotten into an enchanted island: that either there were inhabitants in it, and they should all be murdered, or else there were devils or spirits in it, and they should all be carried away and devoured.

They hallooed again, and called their two comrades by their names a great many times, but no answer. After some time we could see them, by the little light there was, running about wringing their hands, like men in despair; and that sometimes they would go and sit down in the boat to rest themselves, then come ashore again, and walk about again, and do the same thing over again.

My men would fain have me give them leave to fall upon them at once in the dark: but I was willing to take them at some advantage, so to spare them, and kill as few of them as I could; and especially as I was unwilling to hazard the killing any of our men, knowing the others were very well armed. I resolved to wait to see if they did not separate; and therefore, to make sure of them, I drew my ambuscade nearer, and ordered Friday and the captain to creep upon their hands and feet, as close to the ground as they could, that they might not be discovered, and get as near them as they possibly could before they offered to fire.

They had not been long in that posture, when the boatswain, who was the principal ringleader of the mutiny, and had now shown himself the most dejected and dispirited of all the rest, came walking towards them, with two more of their crew. The captain was so eager, at having the principal rogue so much in his power, that he could hardly have patience to let him come so near as to be sure of him; for they only heard his tongue before: but when they came nearer, the captain and Friday, starting upon their feet, let fly at them.

The boatswain was killed upon the spot; the next man was shot in the body, and fell just by him, though he did not die till an hour or two after; and the third ran for it.

At the noise of the fire, I immediately advanced with my whole army, which was now eight men, viz., myself, generalissimo; Friday, my lieutenant-general; the captain, and his two men; and the three prisoners of war, whom we had trusted with arms.

We came upon them indeed in the dark, so that they could not see our number; and I made the man they had left in the boat, who was now one of us, to call them by name, to try if I could bring them to a parley, and so might perhaps reduce them to terms, which fell out just as we desired: for indeed it was easy to think, as their condition then was, they would be very willing to capitulate. So he called out, as loud as he could, to one of them, "Tom Smith! Tom Smith!" Tom Smith answered immediately, "Who's that? Robinson?" for it seems he knew his voice. The other answered, "Aye, aye; for God's sake, Tom Smith, throw down your arms, and yield: or you are dead men this moment!"

"Whom must we yield to? Where are they?" says Smith, again. "Here they are," says he. "Here is our captain, and fifty men with him, have been hunting you this two hours. The boatswain is killed, Will Frye is wounded, and I am a prisoner; and if you do not yield, you are all lost."

"Will they give us quarter then," says Tom Smith, "and we will yield." "I'll go and ask, if you promise to yield," says Robinson. So he asked the captain, and the captain himself then calls out, "You Smith, you know my voice; if you lay down your arms immediately, and submit, you shall have your lives, all but Will Atkins."

Upon this, Will Atkins cried out, "For God's sake, captain, give me quarter! What have I done? They have all been as bad as I!" which, by the way, was not true, neither; for it seems this Will Atkins was the first man that laid hold of the captain, when they first met, and used him barbarously, in tying his hands, and giving him injurious language. However, the captain told him he must lay down his arms at discretion, and trust to the Governor's mercy; for they all called me Governor.

In a word, they all laid down their arms, and begged their lives; and I sent the man that had parleyed with them, and two more, who bound them all; and then my great army of fifty men, which, particularly with those three, were in all but eight, came up and seized upon them all, and upon their boat, only that I kept myself, and one more out of sight, for reasons of state.

Our next work was to repair the boat, and to think of seizing the ship; and as for the captain, now he had leisure to parley with them, he expostulated with them upon the villainy of their practices with him, and at length, upon the farther wickedness of their design; and how certainly it must bring them to misery and distress in the end, and perhaps to the gallows.

They all appeared very penitent, and begged hard for their lives. As for that, he told them they were none of his prisoners, but the commander's of the island; that they thought that they had set him on shore in a barren,



uninhabited island, but it had pleased God so to direct them, that the island was inhabited, and that the governor was an Englishman; that he might hang them all there, if he pleased; but as he had given them all quarter, he supposed he would send them to England, to be dealt with there as justice required, except Atkins, whom he was commanded by the governor to advise to prepare for death; for that he would be hanged in the morning.

Though this was all a fiction of his own, yet it had its desired effect: Atkins fell upon his knees, to beg the captain to intercede with the governor for his life; and all the rest begged of him, for God's sake, that they might not be sent to England.

It now occurred to me that the time of our deliverance was come, and that it would be a most easy thing to bring these fellows in to be hearty in getting possession of the ship. "I retired in the dark from them, that they might not see what kind of a governor they had, and called the captain to me. When I called, as at a good distance, one of the men was ordered to speak again, and say to the captain, 'Captain, the commander calls for you;' and presently the captain replied, 'Tell his excellency I am just a-coming.' This most perfectly surprised them; and they all believed that the commander was just by, with his fifty men.

Upon the captain's coming to me, I told him my project for seizing the ship, which he liked wonderfully well, and resolved to put it in execution the next morning.

But in order to execute it with more art, and to be secure of success, I told him we must divide the prisoners, and that he should go and take Atkins and two more of the worst of them, and send them pinioned to Friday, and the two men who came on shore with the captain.

They conveyed them to the cave as to a prison; and it was indeed a dismal place, especially to men in their condition.

The other I ordered to my bower, as I called it, of which I have given a full description; and as it was fenced in and they pinioned, the place was secure enough, considering they were upon their behavior.

To these, in the morning, I sent the captain, who was to enter into a parley with them; in a word, to try them, and tell me whether he thought they might be trusted or no, to go on board, and surprise the ship. He talked to them of the injury done him, of the condition they were brought to; and that, though the governor had given them quarter for their lives, as to the present action, yet if they were sent to England, they would all be hung in chains, to be sure; but that if they would join so just an attempt, as to recover the ship, he would have the governor's engagement for their pardon.

Any one may guess how readily such a proposal would be accepted by men in their condition: they fell down on their knees to the captain, and promised with the deepest imprecations, that they would be faithful to him to the last drop, and that they should owe their lives to him, and would go with him all over the world; that they would own him for a father to them as long as they lived. "Well," says the captain, "I must go and tell the governor what you say, and see what I can do to bring him to consent to it." So he brought me an account of the temper he found them in; and that he verily believed they would be faithful.

However, that we might be very secure, I told him he should go back again, and choose out five of them, and tell them that they should see that they did not want men; but we would take out those five to be his assistants, and that the governor would keep the other two, and the three that were sent prisoners to the castle, (my cave,) as hostages for the fidelity of those five; and that, if they proved faithful in the execution, the five hostages should be hanged in chains alive upon the shore.

This looked severe, and convinced them that the governor was in earnest. However, they had no way left them but to accept it; and it was now the business of the prisoners, as much as of the captain, to persuade the other five to do their duty.

Our strength was now thus ordered for the expedition: First, the captain, his mate, and passenger. Second, the two prisoners of the first gang, to whom, having their characters from the captain, I had given their liberty, and trusted them with arms. Third, the other two, whom I had kept till now in my bower, pinioned; but, upon the captain's motion, had now released. Fourth, these five released at last: so that there were twelve in all, besides five we kept prisoners in the cave for hostages.

I asked the captain if he was willing to venture with these hands on board the ship; for, as for me and my man Friday, I did not think it was proper for us to stir, having seven men left behind: and it was employment enough for us to keep them asunder, and supply them with victuals.

As to the five in the cave, I resolved to keep them fast; but Friday went twice a day to them, to supply them with necessaries; and I made the other two carry provisions to a certain distance, where Friday was to take it.

When I showed myself to the two hostages, it was with the captain, who told them I was the person whom the governor had ordered to look after them, and that it was the governor's pleasure they should not stir anywhere, but by my direction; that if they did, they should be fetched into the castle and laid in irons; so that as we never suffered them to see me as governor, I now appeared as another person, and spoke of the governor, the garrison, the castle and the like, upon all occasions.

The captain had now no difficulty before him, but to furnish his two boats, stop the breach of one, and man them. He made his passenger captain of one, with four other men; and himself, his mate, and five more, went in the other. And they contrived their business very well; for they came up to the ship about midnight. As soon as they came within call of the ship, he made Robinson hail them, and tell them he had brought off the men and the boat, and that it was a long time before they had found them, and the like; holding them in a chat till they came to the ship's side: when the captain and the mate, entering first with their arms, immediately knocked down the second mate and carpenter with the butt-end

of their muskets, being very faithfully seconded by their men. They secured all the rest that were upon the main and quarter-decks, and began to fasten the hatches to keep them down who were below, when the other boat, and their men entering at the fore-chains, secured the fore-castle of the ship, and the skuttle, which went down into the cook-room, making the three men they found there prisoners.

When this was done, and all safe upon the deck, the captain ordered the mate, with three men, to break into the round-house, where the new rebel captain lay, and, having taken the alarm, was gotten up, and with two men and a boy, were gotten fire-arms in their hands; and when the mate, with a crew, split open the door, the new captain and his men fell hold of among them, and wounded the mate with a musket-ball, which broke his arm, and wounded two more of the men, but killed nobody.

The mate called for help, rushed, however, into the round-house, wounded as he was, and, with his pistol, shot the new captain in the head; the bullet entered at his mouth, and came out again behind one of his ears; so that he never spoke a word: upon which the rest yielded, and the ship was taken effectually, without any more lives lost.

As soon as the ship was thus secured, the captain ordered seven guns to be fired, which was the signal agreed upon by me, to give me the notice of his success, which, you may be sure, I was very glad to hear, having sat watching upon the shore for it till near two of the clock in the morning.

Having thus heard the signal plainly, I told me at once; and it having been a day of great fatigue to me, I slept very sound, till I was something surprised by the noise of a gun; and presently starting up, I heard a man call me by the name of "Governor, governor!" and presently I knew the captain's voice, when, climbing up to the top of the hill, there he stood, and pointing to the ship, he embraced me in his arms. "My dear friend and deliverer," says he, "there's your ship: for she is all yours, and so are we, and all that belong to her." I cast my eye to the ship, and there she rode within little more than half a mile of the shore: for they had weighed her anchor as soon as they were masters of her, and the weather being fair, had brought her to an anchor just against the mouth of a little creek; and the tide being up, the captain had brought the pinnace in near the place where I first landed my raft, and so landed just at my door.



I was, at first, ready to sink down with the surprise; for I saw my deliverance indeed visibly put into my hands, all things easy, and a large ship just ready to carry me away, whither I pleased to go. At first, for some time, I was not able to answer one word; but as soon as he had taken me in his arms, I held fast by him, or I should have fallen to the ground.

He perceived the surprise, and immediately pulled a bottle out of his pocket and gave me a dram of cordial, which he had brought on purpose for me. After I drank it, I sat down upon the ground, and though it brought me to myself, yet it was a good while before I could speak a word to him.

All this while the poor man was in as great an ecstasy as I, only not under any surprise, as I was; and he said a thousand kind, tender things to me, to compose and bring me to myself: but such was the flood of joy in my breast, that it put all my spirits into confusion: at last it broke out into tears, and a little while after I recovered my speech.

Then I took my turn, and embraced him, as my deliverer; and we rejoiced together. I told him I looked upon him as a man sent from heaven to deliver me, and that the whole transaction seemed to be a chain of wonders; that such things as these were the testimonies we had of a secret hand of Providence governing the world, and an evidence that the eyes of an infinite Power could search into the remotest corner of the world, and send help to the miserable whenever he pleased.

I forgot not to lift up my heart in thankfulness to heaven; and what heart could forbear to bless Him, who had not only, in a miraculous manner, provided for me in such a wilderness, and in such a desolate condition, but from whom every deliverance must always be acknowledged to proceed?

When we had talked a while, the captain told me he had brought me some little refreshment, such as the ship afforded, and such as the wretches, who had been so long his masters, had not plundered him of. Upon this he called aloud to the boat, and bade his men bring the things ashore that were for the governor; and indeed it was a present, as if I had been one, not that was to be carried away along with them, but as if I had been to dwell upon the island still, and they were to go without me.

First, he had brought me a case of bottles full of excellent cordial water; six large bottles of Madeira wine; the bottles held two quarts apiece—two pounds of excellent tobacco, twelve good pieces of the ship's beef, and six pieces of pork, with a bag of peas, and about a hundred weight of biscuit.

He brought me also a box of sugar, a box of flour, a bag full of lemons, and two bottles of lime juice, and abundance of other things. But, besides these, and what was a thousand times more useful to me, he brought me six clean, new shirts, six very good neckcloths, two pair of gloves, one pair of shoes, a hat, and one pair of stockings, and a very good suit of clothes of his own, which had been worn very little: in a word, he clothed me from head to foot.

It was a very kind and agreeable present, as any one may imagine, to one in my circumstances; but never was anything in the world of that kind so unpleasant, awkward, and uneasy as it was to me to wear such clothes at their first putting on.

After these ceremonies were past, and after all his good things were brought into my little apartment, we began to consult what was to be done with the prisoners we had; for it was worth considering, whether we might venture to take them away with us or no, especially two of them, whom we knew to be incorrigible and refractory, to the last degree; and the captain said he knew that they were such rogues, that there was no obliging them; and if he did carry them away, it must be in irons, as malefactors, to be delivered over to justice. At the first English colony he could come at; and I found the captain himself was very anxious about it.

Upon this, I told him, that if he desired it, I durst undertake to bring the two men he spoke of, to make it their own request that he should leave them upon the island. "I should be very glad of that," says the captain, "with all my heart."

"Well," said I, "I will send for them, and talk with them for you." So I caused Friday and the two hostages, for they were now discharged, their comrades having performed their promise; I say, I caused them to go to the cave, and bring up the five men pinioned as they were, to the bower, and keep them there till I came.

After some time, I came thither, dressed in my new habit, and now I was called governor again. Being all met, and the captain with me, I caused the men to be brought before me, and I told them that I had had a full account of their villainous behaviour to the captain, and how they had run away with the ship, and were preparing to commit further robberies; but that Providence had intervened in their own ways, and that they had fallen into the pit which they had dug for others.

I let them know that, by my direction, the ship had been seized; that she lay now in the road; and they might see by-and-by that their new captain had received the reward of his villainy; for that they might see him hanging at the yard-arm.

That as to them, I wanted to know what they had to say, why I should not execute them as pirates, taken in the fact, as by my commission they could not doubt I had authority to do.

One of them answered in the name of the rest, that they had nothing to say but this, that when they were taken, the captain had promised them their lives, and they humbly implored mercy. But I told them I knew not what mercy to show them: for, as for myself, I had resolved to quit the island with all my men, and had taken passage with the captain to go to England; and as for the captain he could not carry them to England, other than as prisoners in irons, to be tried for mutiny and running away with the ship; the consequence of which, they must needs know, would be the gallows: so that I could not tell which was best for them, unless they had a mind to take their fate in the hand; if they desired that I did not care, as I had liberty to leave it. I had some inclination to give them their lives if they could shift on shore. They seemed very thankful for it; said they would much rather venture to stay there, than to be carried to England to be hanged: so I left it to that issue.

However, the captain seemed to make some difficulty of it, as if he durst not leave them there. Upon this I seemed a little angry with the captain, and told him that they were my prisoners, not his; and that if he did not think fit to consent to it, I would set them at liberty as I found them; and if he did not like that, he might take them again, if he could catch them.

Upon this they appeared very thankful, and I accordingly set them at liberty, and bade them retire into the woods, to the place whence they came, and I would leave them some fire-arms, some ammunition, and some directions how they should live very well, if they thought fit.

Upon this I prepared to go on board the ship; but told the captain that I would stay that night to prepare my things, and desired him to go on board in the mean time, and keep all right in the ship, and send the boat on shore the next day for me; ordering him in the mean time to cause the new captain who was killed, to be hanged at the yard-arm, that these men might see him.

When the captain was gone, I went for the men up to me in my apartment, and entered seriously into discourse with them of their circumstances. I told them, I thought they had made a right choice; that if the captain carried them away, they would certainly be hanged. I showed them the new captain hanging at the yard-arm of the ship, and told them they had nothing less to expect.

When they had all declared their willingness to stay, I then told them, I would let them into the story of my living there, and put them into the way of making it easy to them. Accordingly I gave them the whole history of the place, and of my coming to it; showed them my fortifications, the way I made my bread, planted my corn, cured my grapes; and, in a word, all that was necessary to make them easy. I told them the story also of the sixteen Spaniards that were to be expected; for whom I left a letter, and made them promise to treat them in common with themselves.

I left them my fire-arms; viz., five muskets, three fowling-pieces, and three swords. I had about a barrel and a half of powder left; for after the first year or two I used but little, and wasted none. I gave them a description of the way I managed the goats, and directions to milk and fatten them, to make both butter and cheese.

In a word, I gave them every part of my own story;



and I told them I would prevail with the captain to leave them two barrels of gunpowder more, and some garden-seeds, which I told them I would have been very glad of; also I gave them the bag of peas which the captain had brought me to eat, and bade them be sure to sow and increase them.

Having done all this, I left them the next day, and went on board the ship. We prepared immediately to sail, but did not weigh that night. The next morning early, two of the five men came swimming to the ship's side, and making a most lamentable complaint of the other three, begged to be taken into the ship, for God's sake, for they should be murdered; and begged the captain to take them on board, though he hanged them immediately.

Upon this, the captain pretended to have no power without me; but after some difficulty, and after their solemn promises of amendment, they were taken on board, and were some time after soundly whipped and pickled; after which they proved very honest and quiet fellows.

Some time after this, I went with the boat on shore, the tide being up, with the things promised to the men, to which the captain at my intercession, caused their chests and clothes to be added, which they took, and were very thankful for. I also encouraged them, by telling them, that if it lay in my power to send any vessel to take them in, I would not forget them.

When I took leave of this island, I carried on board, for relics, the great goat-skin cap I had made, my umbrella, and one of my parrots; also I forgot not to take the money I formerly mentioned, which had been by me so long useless, that it was grown rusty, or tarnished and could hardly pass for a silver, till it had been a little rubbed and handled; and also the money I found in the wreck of the Spanish ship.



And thus I left the island, the 19th of December, as I found by the ship's account. In the year 1688, after I had been upon it eight-and-twenty years, two months, and nineteen days; being delivered from the second captivity the same day of the month that I first made my escape in the *barco-longo*; from among the Moors of Saltee.

In this vessel, after a long voyage, I arrived in England the 11th of June, in the year 1687, having been thirty and five years absent.

When I came to England, I was as perfect a stranger to all the world, as if I had never been known there. My benefactor and faithful steward, whom I left in trust with my money, was alive, but had had great misfortunes in the world, was become a widow the second time, and very low in the world. I made her easy as to what she owed me, assuring her I would give her no trouble; but, on the contrary, in gratitude for former care and faithfulness to me, I relieved her as my little stock would allow, which at that time would indeed allow me to do but little for her; but I assured her I would never forget her, when I had sufficient to help her, as shall be observed in its place.

I went down afterwards into Yorkshire; but my father was dead, and my mother, and all the family extinct, except that I found two sisters, and two of the children of one of my brothers; and as I had been long ago given over for dead, there had been no provision made for me, so that, in a word, I found nothing to relieve or assist me; and that the little money I had, would not do much for me, as to settling in the world.

I met with one piece of gratitude, indeed, which I did not expect; and this was, that the master of the ship, whom I had so happily delivered, and, by the same means, saved the ship and cargo, having given a very handsome account to the owners, of the manner how I had saved the lives of the men, and the ship, they invited me to meet them, and some other merchants concerned, and altogether made me a very handsome compliment upon the subject, and a present of almost two hundred pounds sterling.

But, after making several reflections upon the circumstances of my life, and how little way this would go towards settling me in the world, I resolved to go to Lisbon, and see if I might not come by some information of the state of my plantation in the Brazil, and of what was become of my partner, who, I had reason to suppose, had some years now given me over for dead.

With this view, I took shipping for Lisbon, where I arrived in April following; my man Friday accompanying me very honestly in all these ramblings, and proving a most faithful servant upon all occasions.

When I came to Lisbon, I found out by inquiry, and to my particular satisfaction, my old friend, the captain of the ship who first took me up at sea, off the shore of Africa. He had now grown old, and had left off the sea, having put his son, who was far from the Brazil trade, into his ship, and who still used the Brazil trade. The old man did not know me, and, indeed, I hardly knew him; but I soon brought myself to his remembrance, when I told him who I was.

After some passionate expressions of our old acquaint-

ance, I inquired, you may be sure, after my plantation and my partner. The old man told me he had not been in the Brazil for about nine years; but that he could assure me that when he came away my partner was living, but the trustees whom I had joined with him to take cognizance of my part, were both dead; that, however, he believed that I would have a very good account of the improvement of the plantation; for that, in the general belief of my being cast away and drowned, my trustees had given in the account of the produce of my part of the plantation to the procurator fiscal, who had appropriated it, in case I never came to claim it, one-third to the king, and two-thirds to the monastery of St. Augustine, to be expended for the benefit of the poor, and for the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic faith; but that if I appeared, or any one for me, to claim the inheritance, it would be restored; only that the improvement, or annual production, being distributed to charitable uses, could not be restored; but he assured me, that the steward of the king's revenue, (from lands,) and the provisor, or steward of the monastery, had taken great care all along, and the incumbent, that is to say, my partner, gave every year a faithful account of the produce, of which they received duly my moiety.

I asked him if he knew to what height of improvement he had brought the plantation; and whether he thought it might be worth looking after; or whether, on my going thither, I should meet with no obstruction to my possessing my just right in the moiety.

He told me he could not tell exactly to what degree the plantation was improved; but this he knew, that my partner was grown exceedingly rich upon the enjoying but one half of it; and that, to the best of his remembrance, he had heard that the king's third of my part, which was, it seems, granted away to some other monastery, or religious house, amounted to above two hundred moldores a year; that, as to my being restored to a quiet possession of it, there was no question to be made of that, my partner being alive to witness my title, and my name being also enrolled in the register of the country. Also he told me that the survivors of the two trustees were very fair, honest people, and very wealthy; and he believed I would not only have their assistance for putting me in possession, but would find a very considerable sum of money in their hands, for my account, being the produce of the farm, while their fathers held the trust, and before it was given up, as above, which, as he remembered, was for about twelve years.

I showed myself a little concerned and uneasy at this account, and required of the old captain how it came to pass that the trustees should thus dispose of my effects, when he knew that I had made my will, and had made him, the Portuguese captain, my universal heir, &c.

He told me that was true, but as there was no proof of my being dead, he could not act as executor, until some certain account should come of my death; and that, besides, he was not willing to intermeddle with a thing so remote; that it was true, he had registered my will, and put in his claim; and could he have given any account of my being dead or alive, he would have acted by procuration, and taken possession of the *ingenio* (so they called the sugar-house), and had given his son, who was now at the Brazil, order to do it.

But," says the old man, "I have one piece of news to tell you, which perhaps may not be so acceptable to you as the rest; and that is, that, believing you were lost, and all the world believing so also, your partner and trustees did offer to account to me in your name, for six or eight of the first years of profits, which I received; but there being at that time," says he, "great disbursements for increasing the works; building an *ingenio*, and buying slaves, it did not amount to near as much as afterwards it procured. However," says the old man, "I shall give you a true account of what I have received in all, and how I have disposed of it."

After a few days farther conference with this ancient friend, he brought me an account of the first six years' income of my plantation, signed by my partner, and the merchants' trustees, being always delivered in goods, viz., tobacco in roll, and sugar in chests, besides rum, molasses, &c., which is the consequence of a sugar-work; and I found, by this account, that every year the income considerably increased. But, as above, the disbursement being large, the sum at first was small. However, the old man let me see that he was indebted to me four hundred and seventy moldores of gold, besides sixty chests of sugar, and fifteen double rolls of tobacco, which were lost in his ship, he having been shipwrecked coming home to Lisbon, about eleven years after my leaving the place.

The good man then began to complain of his misfortunes, and how he had been obliged to make use of my money to recover his losses, and buy him a share in a new ship. "However, my old friend," says he, "you shall not want a supply in your necessity; and as soon as my son returns, you shall be fully satisfied."

Upon this, he pulls out an old pouch, and gives me one hundred and sixty Portugal moldores in gold; and giving me the writings of his title to the ship which his son was going to Brazil in, of which he was a quarter-part owner, and his son another, he puts them both into my hands, for security of the rest.

I was too much moved with the honesty and kindness of the poor man, to be able to bear this; and remembering what he had done for me, how he had taken me up at sea, and how generously he had used me on all occasions, and, particularly, how sincere a friend he was now to me, I could hardly refrain weeping at what he said to me. Therefore, first I asked him if his circumstances permitted him to spare so much money at that time, and if it would straiten him a little; but, however, it was my money, and I might want it more than he.

Everything the good man said was full of affection, and I could hardly refrain from tears while he spoke. In short, I took one hundred of the moldores, and called for a pen and ink to give him a receipt for them; then I returned him the rest, and told him, if ever I had possession of the plantation, I would return the other to him, also, as indeed I afterwards did; and that, as to the bill of sale

of his part in his son's ship, I would not take it by any means; but that, if I wanted the money, I found he was honest enough to pay me; and if I did not, but come to receive what he gave me reasons to expect, I would never have a penny more from him.

When this was passed, the old man began to ask me if he should put me in a method to make my claim to my plantation. I told him, I thought to go over to it myself. He said, I might do so, if I pleased; but that if I did not, there were ways enough to secure my right, and immediately to appropriate the profits to my use; and as there were ships in the river of Lisbon, just ready to go away to Brazil, he made me enter my name in a public register, with his affidavit, affirming, upon oath, that I was alive, and that I was the same person who took up the land for the planting; the said plantation at first.

This being regularly attested by a notary, and a procuration affixed, he directed me to send it with a letter of his writing, to a merchant of his acquaintance at the place; and then proposed my staying with him, till an account came of the return.

Never anything was more honorable than the proceedings upon this procuration; for in less than seven months I received a large packet from the survivors of my trustees, the merchants for whose account I went to sea, in which were the following particular letters and papers enclosed:

First, there was the account current of the produce of my farm, or plantation, from the year when their fathers had balanced with my old Portugal captain, being for six years; the balance appeared to be one thousand one hundred and seventy-four moldores in my favor.

Secondly, there was the account of four years more, while they kept the effects in their hands, before the government claimed the administration, as being the effects of a person not to be found, which they call civil death; and the balance of this, the value of the plantation increasing, was to an amount in crusadoes which made three thousand two hundred and forty-one moldores.

Thirdly, there was the prior of the Augustine's account, who had received the profits for above fourteen years; but not being able to account for what was disposed of to the hospital, very honestly declared he had eight hundred and seventy-two moldores not distributed, which he acknowledged to my account. As to the king's part, that refunded nothing.

There was also a letter of my partner's, congratulating me very affectionately upon my being alive, giving me an account how the estate was improved, and what it produced a year, with a particular of the number of squares, or acres that it contained; how planted; how many slaves there were upon it; and, making two-and-twenty crosses, for blessings, told me he had said so many "Ave Marias," to thank the Blessed Virgin that I was alive; inviting me, very passionately, to come over and take possession of my own; and, in the mean time, to give him order to whom he should deliver my effects, if I should not come myself; concluding with a hearty tender of his friendship, and that of his family; and sent me, as a present, seven fine leopard's skins, which he had, it seems, received from Africa, by some other ship, which he had sent thither, and which, it seems, had made a better voyage than I. He sent me, also, five chests of excellent sweet-meats, and a hundred pieces of gold uncoined, not quite so large as moldores.

By the same fleet, my two merchant trustees shipped me twelve hundred chests of sugar, eight hundred rolls of tobacco, and the rest of the whole account in gold.

I might well say now, indeed, that the latter end of Job was better than the beginning. It is impossible to express the fluttering of my very heart, when I looked over these letters, and especially when I found all my wealth about me; for, as the Brazil ships come all in fleets, the same ships which brought my letters brought my goods; and the effects were safe in the *Tagus* before the letters came to my hand. In a word, I turned pale, and grew sick; and had not the old man run and fetched me a cordial, I believe the sudden surprise of joy had overset nature, and I had died upon the spot.

Nay, after that, I continued very ill, and was so some hours, till a physician being sent for, and something of the real cause of my illness being known, he ordered me to be bled; after which I had relief, and grew well; but I verily believe, if it had not been eased by the vent given in that manner to the spirits, I should have died.

I was now master, all on a sudden, of above five thousand pounds sterling in money, and had an estate, as I might well call it, in the Brazil, of above a thousand pounds a year, as *azucena* estate of lands in England; and, in a word, I was in a condition which I scarce knew how to understand, or how to compose myself for the enjoyment of.

The first thing I did was to recompense my original benefactor, my good old captain, who had been first charitable to me in my distress, kind to me in the beginning, and honest to me at the end. I showed him all that was sent to me. I told him that, next to the providence of heaven, which disposes all things, it was owing to him; and that it now lay on me to reward him, which I would do a hundred-fold. So I first returned to him the hundred moldores I had received of him; then I sent for a notary, and caused him to draw up a general release, or discharge, for the four hundred and seventy moldores, which he had acknowledged he owed me, in the fullest and firmest manner possible: after which, I caused a procuration to be drawn, empowering him to be the receiver of the annual profits of my plantation, and appointing my partner to account to him, and make the returns by the usual fleets to him, in my name. And a clause in the end, being a grant of one hundred moldores a year to him, during his life, out of the effects; and fifty moldores a year to his son after him, for his life; and thus I requited my old man.

I was now to consider which way to steer my course next, and what to do with the estate that Providence had thus put into my hands; and, indeed, I had more care upon my head now, than I had in my silent state of life in the island, where I wanted nothing but what I had, and had nothing but what I wanted; whereas, I had now a great charge upon me, and my business was now to



secure it. I had never a cave now to hide my money in, or a place where it might lie without lock or key, till it grew mouldy and tarnished before anybody would meddle with it; on the contrary, I knew not where to put it, or whom to trust with it; my old patron, the captain, indeed, was honest, and that was the only refuge I had.

In the next place, my interest in the Brazil seemed to diminish me thither: but now I could not tell how to think of going thither till I had settled my affairs, and left my effects in some safe hands behind me. At first, I thought of my old friend the widow, who I knew was honest, and would be just to me; but then she was in years, and but poor, and, for aught I knew, might be in debt; so that, in a word, I had no way but to go back to England myself, and take my effects with me.

It was some months, however, before I resolved upon this; and therefore, as I had rewarded the old captain fully, and to his satisfaction, who had been my former benefactor, so I began to think of my poor widow, whose husband had been my first benefactor, and she, while it was in her power, my faithful steward and instructor. So the first thing I did, I got a merchant in Lisbon to write to his correspondent in London—not only to pay a bill, but to go and find her out, and carry her, in money, a hundred pounds from me, and to talk with her, and comfort her in her poverty, by telling her she would, if I lived, have a farther supply. At the same time I sent my two sisters, in the country, each of them a hundred pounds, they being, though not in want, yet not in very good circumstances; one having been married and left a widow, and the other having a husband not so kind to her as he should be.

But among all my relations or acquaintances, I could not yet pitch upon one to whom I durst commit the gross of my stock, that I might go away to the Brazil, and leave things safe behind me; and this greatly perplexed me.

I had once a mind to have gone to the Brazil, and have settled myself there; for I was, as it were, naturalized to the place; but I had some little scruple in my mind about religion, which insensibly drew me back, of which I shall say more presently. However, it was not religion that kept me from going thither for the present; and as I had made no scruple of being openly of the religion of the country all the while I was among them, so neither did I yet; only that now and then having of late thought more of it than formerly, when I began to think of living and dying among them, I began to regret my having professed myself a papist, and thought it might not be the best religion to die with.

But, as I have said, this was not the main thing that kept me from going to the Brazil, but that really I did not know with whom to leave my effects behind me; so I resolved at last to go to England with them, where, if I arrived, I concluded I should make some acquaintance, or find some relations that would be faithful to me; and accordingly I prepared to go to England with all my wealth.

In order to prepare things for my going home, I first (the Brazil fleet being just going away) resolved to give answers suitable to the just and faithful account of things I had from thence. And first to the prior of St. Augustine I wrote a letter full of thanks for his just dealings, and the offer of the eight hundred and seventy-two moldores, which were undisposed of, which I desired might be given, five hundred to the monastery, and three hundred and seventy-two to the poor, as the prior should direct; desiring the good padre's prayers for me, and the like.

I wrote next a letter of thanks to my two trustees, with all the acknowledgment that so much justice and honesty called for; as for sending them a present, they were far above having any occasion for it.

Lastly, I wrote to my partner, acknowledging his industry in the improving of the plantation, and his integrity in increasing the stock of the works, giving him instructions for his future government of my part, according to the powers I had left with my old patron, to whom I desired him to send whatever became due to me, till he should hear from me more particularly; assuring him that it was my intention not only to come to him, but to settle myself there for the remainder of my life. To this I added a very handsome present of some Italian silks for his wife and two daughters, for such the captain's son informed me he had; with two pieces of fine English broadcloth—the best I could get in Lisbon—five pieces of black baize, and some Flanders lace of a good value.

Having thus settled my affairs, sold my cargo, and turned all my effects into good bills of exchange, my next difficulty was which way to go to England. I had been accustomed enough to the sea, and yet I had a strange aversion to go to England by sea at that time; and though I could give no reason for it, yet the difficulty increased upon me so much, that though I had once shipped my baggage in order to go, yet I altered my mind, and that not once, but two or three times.

It is true I had been very unfortunate by sea, and this might be one of the reasons: but let no man stake the strong impulse of his own thoughts in case of such moment. Two of the ships which I had singled out to go in—I mean more particularly singled out than any other—that is to say, so as in one of them to put my things on board, and in the other to have agreed with the captain; I say two of these ships miscarried; viz., one was taken by the Algerines, the other was cast away on the Start, near Torbay, and all the people drowned except three; so that in either of those vessels I had been made miserable, and in which most, it was hard to say.

Having been thus harassed in my thoughts, my old pilot, to whom I communicated everything, pressed me earnestly not to go by sea; but either to go by land to the Groyne, and cross over the Bay of Biscay to Rochelle, from whence it was an easy and safe journey by land to Paris, and so to Calais and Dover; or to go up to Madrid, and so all the way by land through France.

In a word, I was so prepossessed against my going by sea at all, except from Calais to Dover, that I resolved to travel all the way by land, which, as I was not in haste, and did not value the charge, was by much the pleasanter way; and to make it more so, my old captain brought an English gentleman, the son of a merchant in Lisbon, who

was willing to travel with me. After which, we picked up two more, who were English, and merchants also, and two young Portuguese gentlemen, the last going to Paris only: so that we were in all six of us, and five servants: the two merchants and the two Portuguese contenting themselves with one servant between two, to save the charge; and as for me, I got an English sailor to travel with me as servant, besides my man Friday, who was too much a stranger to be capable of supplying the place of a servant on the road.

In this manner I set out for Lisbon: and our company being all very well mounted and armed, we made a little troop, whereof they did me the honor to call me captain, as well because I was the oldest man, as because I had two servants, and indeed was the original of the whole journey.

As I have troubled you with none of my sea journals, so shall I trouble you with none of my land journals, but some adventures that happened to us in this tedious and difficult journey, I must not omit.

When we came to Madrid, we being all of us strangers to Spain, were willing to stay some time to see the court of Spain, and to see what was worth observing; but it being the latter part of summer, we hastened away, and set out from Madrid about the middle of October. But when we came to the edge of Navarre, we were alarmed at several towns on the way, with an account that so much snow had fallen on the French side of the mountains, that several travellers were obliged to come back to Pampeluna, after having attempted, at an extreme hazard, to pass on.

When we came to Pampeluna itself, we found it so indeed; and to me, that had been always used to a hot climate, and indeed to countries where we could scarce bear any clothes on, the cold was insufferable. Nor indeed was it more painful than it was surprising, to come but ten days before out of the Old Castle, where the weather was not only warm, but very hot; and immediately to feel a wind from the Pyrenean mountains so very keen, so severely cold, as to be intolerable, and to endanger benumbing or perishing of our fingers and toes.

Poor Friday was really frightened when he saw the mountains all covered with snow, and felt cold weather, which he had never seen or felt before in his life.

To mend the matter, after we came to Pampeluna, it continued snowing with so much violence, and so long, that the people said winter was come before its time, and the roads, which were difficult before, were now quite impassable: in a word, the snow lay in some places too thick for us to travel; and being not hard frozen, as is the case in the northern countries, there was no going without being in danger of being buried alive every step. We stayed no less than twenty days at Pampeluna, when (seeing the winter coming on, and no likelihood of its being better, for it was the severest winter over all Europe that had been known for many years) I proposed that we should all go away to Fontarabla, and there take shipping for Bordeaux, which was a very little voyage.

But while we were considering this, there came in four French gentlemen, who having been stopped on the French side of the passes as we were on the Spanish, had found out a guide, who, traversing the country near the head of Laignedoc, had brought them over the mountains by such ways, that they were not much incommoded with the snow; and where they met with snow in any quantity, they said it was frozen hard enough to bear them and their horses.

We sent for this guide, who told us he would undertake to carry us the same way, with no hazard from the snow, provided we were armed sufficiently to protect us from wild beasts; for he said, upon these great snows, it was frequent for some wolves to show themselves at the foot of the mountains, being made ravenous for want of food, the ground being covered with snow. We told him we were well enough prepared for such creatures as they were, if he would ensure us from a kind of two-legged wolves, which we were told we were in most danger from, especially on the French side of the mountains.

He satisfied us there was no danger of that kind in the way that we were to go. So we readily agreed to follow him; as did also twelve other gentlemen, with their servants, some French, some Spanish, who as I said, had attempted to go, and were obliged to come back again.

Accordingly we all set out from Pampeluna, with our guide, on the fifteenth of November, and indeed I was surprised when, instead of going forward, he came directly back with us, on the same road that we came from Madrid, above twenty miles; when having passed two rivers, and come into the plain country, we found ourselves in a warm climate again, where the country was pleasant, and no snow to be seen; but on a sudden turning to the left, he approached the mountains another way; and though it is true, the hills and the precipices looked dreadful, yet he made so many tours, such meanders, and led us by such winding ways, we had insensibly passed the height of the mountains without being much encumbered with the snow; and, all on a sudden, he showed us the pleasant fruitful provinces of Languedoc and Gasconne, all green and flourishing; though indeed they were at a great distance, and we had some rough way to pass yet.

We were a little uneasy, however, when we found it snowed one whole day, and at night so fast that we could not travel; but he bade us be easy, we should soon be past it all. We found, indeed, that we began to descend every day, and to come more north than before; and so, depending upon our guide, we went on.

It was about two hours before night, when our guide being something before us, and not just in sight, our rushed three monstrous wolves, and after them a bear, out of a hollow way, adjoining to a thick wood. Two of the wolves flew upon the guide, and had he been half a mile before us he would have been devoured indeed, before we could have helped him. One of them fastened upon his horse, and the other attacked the man with that violence, that he had not time or not presence of mind

enough, to draw his pistol, but hallooed and cried out to us most lustily. My man Friday being next to me, I bade him ride up, and see what was the matter. As soon as Friday came in sight of the man, he hallooed as loud as the other, "O master! O master!" but, like a bold fellow, rode directly up to the man, and, with a pistol, shot the wolf that attacked him in the head.



It was happy for the poor man that it was my man Friday; for he, having been used to that kind of creature in his country, had no fear upon him, but went up close to him, and shot him as above; whereas any of us would have fired at a farther distance, and have, perhaps, either missed the wolf, or endangered shooting the man.

But it was enough to have terrified a bolder man than I; and indeed it alarmed all our country, when, with the noise of Friday's pistol, we heard on both sides the most dismal howling of wolves, and the noise redoubled by the echo of the mountains, that it was to us as if there had been a prodigious multitude of them; and perhaps indeed there were not such a few, as that we had no cause of apprehension.

However, as Friday had killed the wolf, the other, that had fastened upon his horse, left him immediately, and fled, having happily fastened upon his head, where the bosses of the bridle had stuck in his teeth, so that he had not done him much hurt. The man, indeed, was most hurt; for the raging creature had bit him twice, once on the arm, and the other time a little above his knee; and he was just, as it were, tumbling down by the disorder of his horse, when Friday came up and shot the wolf.

It is easy to suppose, that at the noise of Friday's pistol we all mended our pace, and rode up, as fast as the way (which was very difficult) would give us leave, to see what was the matter. As soon as we came clear of the trees, which blinded us before, we saw plainly what had been the cause, and how Friday had disengaged the poor guide: though we did not presently discern what kind of creature it was he had killed.

But never was a fight managed so hardly, and in such a surprising manner, as that which followed between Friday and the bear, which gave us all (though at first we were surprised and afraid for him) the greatest diversion imaginable. As the bear is a heavy, clumsy creature, and does not gallop as the wolf does, which is swift and light, so he has two particular qualities, which generally are the rule of his actions. First, as to men, who are not his proper prey, I say, not his proper prey, though I cannot say that excessive hunger might do, which was now their case, the ground being all covered with snow; yet, as to men, he does not usually attack them, unless they first attack him: on the contrary, if you meet him in the woods, though if you do not meddle with him, he will not meddle with you, yet then you must take care to be very civil to him and give him the road: for he is a very nice gentleman, he will not go a step out of his way for a prince; nay, if you are really afraid, your best way is to look another way, and keep going on; for sometimes if you stop and stand still, and look steadily at him, he takes it for an affront and sets all other business aside to pursue his revenge: for he will have satisfaction in point of honour: and this is his first quality. The next is, that if he be once affronted, he will never leave you, night or day, till he has his revenge, but follow, at a good round rate, till he overtakes you.

My man Friday had delivered our guide, and when we had come up to him, he was helping him off from his horse: for the man was both hurt and frightened, and indeed the last more than the first; when, on a sudden, we spied the bear come out of the wood, and a vast monstrous one it was, the biggest by far that ever I saw. We were all a little surprised when we saw him: but when Friday saw him, it was easy to see joy and courage in the fellow's countenance. "O! O! O!" says Friday, three times, pointing to him; "O, master, you give me leave, me shake the hand with him, me make you good laugh."

I was surprised to see the fellow so pleased. "You fool you," said I, "he will eat you up!" "Eat me up; eat me up!" says Friday, twice over again. "Me eat me up: me make you good laugh. You all stay here; me show you good laugh." So down he sits, and gets his boots off in a moment, and put on a pair of pumps (as we call the flat shoes they wear), and which he had in his pocket, gives my other servant his horse, and with his gun away he flew, swift like the wind.

The bear was walking softly on, and offered to meddle with nobody, till Friday, coming pretty near, calls to him, "Hark ye, hark ye," says Friday, "me speak wit you." We followed at a distance; for now being come down to the Gasconne side of the mountains, we entered a vast forest.

Friday, who had, as we say, the heels of the bear, came up with him quickly, and takes up a great stone, and throws it at him, and hit him just on the head: but



did him no more harm than if he had thrown it against a wall; but it answered Friday's end: for the rogue was so void of fear that he did it purely to make the bear follow him, and "show us some laugh," as he called it.

As soon as the bear felt the stone, and saw him, he turns about, and shuffles along at a strange rate, so as would put a horse to a middling gallop. Away runs Friday, and takes his course, as if he ran towards us for help; so we all resolved to fire at once upon the bear, and deliver my man; though I was angry at him heartily for bringing the bear back upon us, when he was going about his own business another way; and especially I was angry that he had turned the bear upon us, and then ran away; and I called out, "You dog," said I, "is this your making us laugh? Come away, and take your horse, that we may shoot the creature." He hears me, and cries out, "No shoot, no shoot! Stand still; you get much laugh." And as the nimble creature ran two feet for the bear's one, he turned on a sudden, on one side of us, and seeing a great oak tree, fit for his purpose, he beckoned us to follow, and doubling his pace, he gets nimbly up the tree, laying his gun down on the ground, at about five or six yards from the bottom of the tree.

The bear soon came to the tree, and we followed at a distance. The first thing he did he stopped at the gun, smelt to it, but let it lie, and up he scrambles into the tree, climbing like a cat, though so monstrously heavy. I was amazed at the folly, as I thought it, of my man, and could not for my life see anything to laugh at yet, till seeing the bear got upon the tree, we all rode nearer to him.

When we came to the tree, there was Friday got out to the small end of a large limb of the tree, and the bear got half way to him; as the bear got out to that part where the limb of the tree was weaker, "Ha," says he, to us, "now you see me teach the bear dance;" so he falls a jumping, and shaking the bough, at which the bear began to totter, but stood still and began to look behind him, to see how he should get back; then indeed we did laugh heartily. But Friday had not done with him by a great deal; when he sees him stand still, he calls out to him again, as if he had supposed the bear could speak English. "What, you no come farther? Pray you come farther!" So he left jumping and shaking the bough; and the bear, just as if he had understood what he said, did come a little farther; then he fell a jumping again, and the bear stopped again.

We thought now was a good time to knock him on the head, and I called to Friday to stand still and we would shoot the bear; but he cried out earnestly, "O, pray! O, pray! no shoot! Me shoot by and then." He would have said, "by and by." However, to shorten the story, Friday danced so much, and the bear stood so ticklish, that we had laughing enough indeed, but still could not imagine what the fellow would do; for first we thought he depended upon shaking the bear off, and we found the bear was too cunning for that too; for he would not go out far enough to be thrown down, but clings fast with his great broad claws and feet, so that we could not imagine what would be the end of it, and where the jest would be at last.

But Friday put us out of doubt quickly; for seeing the bear cling fast to the bough, and that he would not be persuaded to come any farther, "Well, well," says Friday, "you no come farther, me go, me go; you no come to me, me come to you." And upon this, he goes out to the smallest end of the bough, where it should bend with his weight, and gently lets himself down by it, sliding down the bough till he came near enough to jump down on his feet, and away he ran to his gun, takes it up, and stands still.

"Well," said I to him, "Friday, what will you do now? Why don't you shoot him?" "No shoot," says Friday, "no yet, me shoot now, me no kill; me stay, give you one more laugh." And, indeed, so he did, as you will see presently; for when the bear saw his enemy gone, he comes back from the bough where he stood; but did it mightily leisurely, looking behind him every step, and coming backwards till he got into the body of the tree. Then with the same, hinder end foremost, he came down the tree, grasping it with his claws, and moving one foot at a time, very leisurely; at this juncture, and just before he could set his hind feet upon the ground, Friday stepped close to him, clapped the muzzle of his piece into his ear, and shot him dead as a stone.

Then the rogue turned about to see if we did not laugh, and when he saw we were pleased, by our looks, he falls a laughing, himself very loud. "So we kill bear in my country," says Friday. "So you kill them!" said I; "why, you have no guns." "No," says he, "no guns; but shoot great, much, long arrow."

This was, indeed, a good diversion to us; but we were still in a wild place, and our guide very much hurt, and what to do we hardly knew; the howling of wolves ran much in my head; and, indeed, except the noise I once heard on the shores of Africa, of which I have said something already, I never heard anything that filled me with so much horror.

These things, and the approach of night, called us off, or else, as Friday would have had us, we should have certainly taken the skin of this monstrous creature off, which was worth saving; but we had three leagues to go, and our guide hastened us; so we left him, and went forward on our journey.

The ground was still covered with snow, though not so deep and dangerous as on the mountains; and the ravenous creatures, as we heard afterwards, were come down into the forest and plain country, pressed by hunger, to seek for food; and had done a great deal of mischief in the villages, where they surprised the country people, killed a great many of their sheep and horses, and some people too.

We had one dangerous place to pass, of which our guide told us, if there were any more wolves in the country, we should find them there; and this was a small plain, surrounded with woods on every side; and a long, narrow defile, or lane, which we were to pass to get through the wood, and then we should come to the village where we were to lodge.

It was within half an hour of sunset, when we entered

the first wood; and a little after sunset when we came into the plain. We met with nothing in the first wood, except that, in a little plain, within the wood, which was not above two furlongs over, we saw five great wolves cross the road, full speed, one after another, as if they had been in chase of some prey, and had it in view. They took no notice of us, and were gone, and out of sight in a few moments.

Upon this, our guide, who, by the way, was a wretched faint-hearted fellow, bade us keep in a ready posture: for he believed there were more wolves a coming.

We kept our arms ready, and our eyes about us; but we saw no more wolves till we came through that wood, which was near half a league, and entered the plain. As soon as we came into the plain, we had occasion enough to look about us. The first object we met with, was a dead horse; that is to say, a poor horse, which the wolves had killed, and at least a dozen of them at work; we could not say, eating of him, but picking of his bones, rather; for they had eaten up all the flesh, before.

We did not think fit to disturb them at their feast, neither did they take much notice of us. Friday would have let fly at them, but I would not suffer him by any means: for I found we were likely to have more business apor our hands than we were aware of. We were not gone half over the plain, but we began to hear the wolves howl, in the wood on our left, in a frightful manner; and presently after we saw about a hundred, coming on directly towards us, all in a body, and most of them in a line, as regular as an army drawn up by experienced officers. I scarce knew in what manner to receive them; but found, to draw ourselves in a close line, was the only way. So we formed in a moment. But that we might not have too much interval, I ordered that only every other man should fire, and that the others, who had not fired, should stand ready to give them a second volley immediately, if they continued to advance upon us; and that then, those who had fired at first should not pretend to load their fusils again, but stand ready, with every one a pistol; for we were all armed with a fusil, and a pair of pistols, each man; so we were, by this method, able to fire six volleys, half of us at a time. However, at present, we had no necessity; for, upon firing the first volley, the enemy made a full stop, being terrified, as well with the noise as with the fire; four of them being shot into the head, dropped; several others were wounded, and went bleeding off, as we could see by the snow. I found they stopped, but did not immediately retreat; whereupon, remembering that I had been told, that the fiercest creatures were terrified at the voice of man, I caused all our company to halloo as loud as we could; and I found the notion not altogether mistaken; for, upon our shout, they began to retire, and turn about; then I ordered a second volley to be fired in their rear, which put them to the gallop, and away they went to the woods.

This gave us leisure to charge our pieces again, and that we might lose no time, we kept going; but we had but little more than loaded our fusils, and put ourselves into a readiness, when we heard a terrible noise in the same wood on our left; only that it was farther onward, the same way we were to go.

The night was coming on, and the light began to be dusky, which made it the worst on our side; but the noise increasing, we could easily perceive that it was the howling and yelling of those vile creatures; and, on a sudden, we perceived two or three troops of wolves, one on our left, one behind us, and one on our front; so that we seemed to be surrounded with them. However, as they did not fall upon us, we kept our way forward, as fast as we could make our horses go, which, the way being very rough, was only a good large trot; and in this manner we only came in view of the entrance of the wood, through which we were to pass, at the farther side of the plain; but we were greatly surprised, when, coming near the lane, or pass, we saw a confused number of wolves standing just at the entrance.

On a sudden, at another opening of the wood, we heard the noise of a gun; and looking that way, out rushed a horse, with a saddle and bridle on him, flying like the wind, and sixteen or seventeen wolves after him, full speed. Indeed, the horse had the heels of them; but, as we supposed that he could not hold at that rate, we doubted not that they would get up with him at last; and no question but they did.



Here we had a most horrible sight; for, riding up to the entrance where the horse came out, we found the carcass of another horse, and of two men, devoured by the ravenous creatures, and one of the men was no doubt the same whom we had heard fire the gun; for there lay the gun just by him fired off; but, as to the man, his head, and the upper part of his body, were eaten up.

This filled us with horror, and we knew not what course to take; but the creatures resolved us soon, for they gathered about us presently, in hopes of prey; and I verily believe there were three hundred of them. It happened very much to our advantage, that at the entrance of the wood, but a little way from it, there lay some large timber trees, which had been cut down the summer be-

fore, and I suppose lay there for carriage. I drew my little troop in among these trees. I advised them all to alight, and keeping that tree before us for a breastwork, to stand in a triangle, or three fronts, enclosing our horses in the centre.

We did so; and it was well we did, for never was a more furious charge than the creatures made upon us in this place; they came on us with a growling kind of noise, and mounted the piece of timber, (which, as I said, was our breastwork,) as if they were only rushing upon their prey, and this fury of theirs, it seems, was principally occasioned by their seeing our horses behind us, which was the prey they aimed at. I ordered our men to fire as before, every other man; and they took their aim so sure, that indeed they killed several wolves at the first volley; but there was a necessity to keep a continual firing, for they came on like devils, those behind pushing on those before.

When we had fired the second volley of our fusils, we thought they stopped a little, and I hoped they would have gone off, but it was but a moment, for others came forward again: so we fired two volleys of our pistols, and I believe in these four fringes we killed seventeen or eighteen of them, and lamed twice as many; yet they came on again.

I was loath to spend our last shot too hastily; so I called my servant, not my man Friday, for he was better employed; for, with the greatest dexterity imaginable, he charged my fusil, and his own, while we were engaged; but, as I said, I called my other man; and giving him a horn of powder, I bade him lay a large train. He did so, and had but just time to get away, when the wolves came up to it, when I snapped an uncharged pistol close to the powder, which set it on fire. Those that were upon the timber were scorched with it, and seven of them fell, or rather jumped in among us, with the force or the fright of the fire. We dispatched these in an instant, and the rest were so frightened with the light, which the night, for now it was very near dark, made more terrible, that they drew back a little.

Upon which I ordered our last pistols to be fired off in one volley, and after that we gave a shout: upon this the wolves turned tail, and we sailed immediately upon near twenty lame ones, which we found struggling on the ground, and fell a cutting them with our swords, which answered our expectations; for the crying and howling they made were better understood by their fellows, so that they all fled and left us.

We had, first and last, killed about threescore of them; and had it been daylight, we had killed many more. The field of battle being thus cleared, we made forward again, for we had still near a league to go.

We heard the ravenous creatures howl and yell in the woods as we went, several times; and sometimes we fancied we saw some of them, but the snow dazzling our eyes, we were not certain: so in about an hour more we came to the town where we were to lodge, which we found in a terrible fright, and all in arms; for it seems that the night before the wolves and some bears had broken into the village and put them in a terrible fright; and they were obliged to keep guard, night and day, but especially in the night, to preserve their cattle, and, indeed, their people.

The next morning our guide was so ill, and his limbs so swelled with the rankling of his two wounds, that he could go no farther; so we were obliged to take another guide there, and go to Toulouse, where we found a warm climate, a fruitful, pleasant country, and no snow, no wolves, nor anything like them. But when we told our story at Toulouse they told us it was nothing but what was ordinary in the great forest, at the foot of the mountains, especially when the snow lay on the ground. But they inquired much what kind of a guide we had gotten, that would venture to bring us that way in such a severe season; and told us it was surprising we were not all devoured; when we told them how we had placed ourselves, and the horses in the middle, they blamed us exceedingly, and told us it was fifty to one but we had all been destroyed; for it was the sight of the horses that made the wolves so furious, seeing their prey, and that at other times they are really afraid of a gun; but they being excessively hungry, and raging on that account, the eagerness to come at the horses had made them careless of the danger; and that if we had not, by the continued fire, and at last by the stratagem of the train of powder, mastered them, it had been great odds but that we had been torn in pieces; whereas, had we been content to have sat still on horseback, and fired as horsemen, they would not have taken the horses so much for their own, when men were on their backs, as otherwise; and, withal, they told us, that at last, if we had all stood together, and left our horses, they would have been so eager to have devoured them, that we might have come off safe, especially having our fire-arms in our hands, and being so many in number.

For my part, I never was so sensible of danger in my life; for seeing above three hundred wolves come roaring and open-mouthed to devour us, and having nothing to shelter us, or retreat to, I gave myself over for lost; and, as it was, I believe I shall never care to cross those mountains again: I think I would much rather go a thousand leagues by sea, though I were sure to meet with a storm once a week.

I have nothing uncommon to take notice of in my passage through France; nothing but what other travellers have given an account of, with much more advantage than I can. I travelled from Toulouse to Paris, and, without any considerable stay, came to Calais, and landed safely at Dover, the fourteenth of January, after having had a severely cold season to travel in.

I was now come to the centre of my travels, and had, in a little time, all my new-discovered estate safe about me, the bills of exchange which I brought with me having been very currently paid.

My principal guide and privy-counsellor was my good, ancient widow, who, in gratitude for the money I had sent her, thought no pains too much, or care too great, to employ for me, and I trusted her so entirely with everything, that I was perfectly easy as to the security of my effects; and, indeed, I was very happy from the begin-



ning, and now to the end, in the unspotted integrity of this good gentlewoman.

And now I began to think of leaving my effects with this woman, and setting out for Lisbon, and so to the Brazils. But now another scruple came in my way, and that was religion; for as I had entertained some doubts about the Roman religion, even while I was abroad, especially in my state of solitude, so I knew there was no going to the Brazils for me, much less going to settle there, unless I resolved to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, without any reserve, except, on the other hand, I resolved to be a sacrifice to my principles, be a martyr for religion, and die in the Inquisition; so I resolved to stay at home, and if I could find means for it, dispose of my plantation.

To this purpose I wrote to my old friend at Lisbon, who, in return, gave me notice that he could easily dispose of it there; but that, if I thought fit to give him leave to offer it in my name to the two merchants, the survivors of my trustees, who lived in the Brazils, who must fully understand the value of it, who lived just upon the spot, and whom I knew to be very rich, so that he believed they would be fond of buying it; he did not doubt but I should make four or five thousand pieces of eight the more of it.

Accordingly I agreed, gave him orders to offer it to them, and he did so; and in about eight months more, the ship being then returned, he sent me an account that they had accepted the offer, and had remitted thirty-three thousand pieces of eight to a correspondent of theirs at Lisbon to pay for it.

In return, I signed the instrument of sale in the form which they sent from Lisbon, and sent it to my old man, who sent me bills of exchange for thirty-two thousand eight hundred pieces of eight, for the estate, reserving the payment of one hundred moldores a year to him, the old man, during his life, and fifty moldores afterward to his son for his life, which I had promised them; and which the plantation was to make good as a rent charge.

And thus I have given the history of a life of fortune and adventure—a life of Providence's checker-work, and of a variety which the world will seldom show the like of—beginning foolishly, but closing much more happily than any part of it ever gave me leave so much as to hope for.

Any one would think, that in this state of complicated good fortune, I was past running any more hazards; and so indeed I had been, if other circumstances had concurred; but I was inured to a wandering life, had no family, nor many relations, nor, however rich, had I contracted much acquaintance; and although I had sold my estate in the Brazils, yet I could not keep that country out of my head, and had a great mind to be upon the wing again; especially as I could not resist the strong inclination I had to see my island, and to know if the poor Spaniards were in being there, and how the rogues I had left there had used them.

My true friend the widow earnestly dissuaded me from it, and so far prevailed with me that for almost seven years she prevented my running abroad; during which time I took my two nephews, the children of one of my brothers, into my care. The eldest having something of his own, I bred up as a gentleman, and gave him a settlement of some addition to his estate after my decease; the other I put out to a captain of a ship; and after five years, finding him a sensible, bold, enterprising young fellow, I put him into a good ship, and sent him to sea. And this young fellow afterward drew me in, old as I was, to further adventures myself.

In the meantime, I in part settled myself here; for first of all I married, and that not either to my disadvantage or dissatisfaction; and had three children, two sons and one daughter. But my wife dying, and my nephew coming home, with good success, from a voyage to Spain, my inclination to go abroad, and his importunity, prevailed, and engaged me to go in his ship as private trader to the East Indies. This was in the year 1694.

In this voyage I visited my new colony in the island, saw my successors, the Spaniards; had the whole story of their lives, and of the villains I left there; how at first they insulted the poor Spaniards; how they afterward agreed, disagreed, united, separated, and how at last the Spaniards were obliged to use violence with them; how they were subjected to the Spaniards; how honestly the Spaniards used them; a history, if it were entered into, as full of variety and wonderful incidents, as my own part; particularly also as to their battles with the Caribbeans, who landed several times upon the island itself; and how five of them made an attempt upon the main land, and brought away eleven men and five women prisoners, by which, at my coming, I found about twenty young children on the island.

Here I staid about twenty days, left them supplies of all necessary things, and particularly of arms, powder, shot, clothes, tools, and two workmen whom I brought from England with me: viz., a carpenter and a smith.

Besides this, I shared the island into parts with them, reserved to myself the property of the whole, but gave them such parts respectively as they agreed on; and having settled all things with them, and engaged them not to leave the place, I left them there.

From thence I touched at the Brazils, from whence I sent a bark, which I bought there, with more people to the island; and in it, besides other supplies, I sent seven women, being such as I found proper for service, or for wives to such as would take them. As to the Englishmen, I promised them to send them some women from England, with a good cargo of necessaries, if they would apply themselves to planting, which I afterward could not perform. The fellows proved very honest and diligent, after they were mastered, and had their property set apart for

them. I sent them also from the Brazils five cows—three of them with calves—some sheep, and some hogs, which, when I came again, were considerably increased.

After this, however, three hundred Caribbeans came and invaded them, and ruined their plantations, and they fought with that whole number twice, and were at last defeated, and one of them killed; but at last a storm destroying their enemies' canoes, they famished or destroyed almost all the rest, and renewed and recovered the possession of their plantations, and still lived upon the island. I had some very surprising incidents, in some new adventures of my own, for several years more, but now, having lived seventy-two years a life of infinite variety, and learned sufficiently to know the value of retirement and the blessing of ending our days in peace, I have resolved to harass myself no more, and am therefore preparing for a longer journey than any I have yet undertaken.

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No. 5.

## Vagabond Joe, The Young Wandering Jew; OR, Plotting for a Legacy.

BY OLL COOMES.

### CHAPTER I.

#### VAGABOND JOE.

THE village school was in session in the little frontier settlement of Fort Dodge. Behind the desk, "deep scarred with raps official," Cyrus C. Carpenter presided with that calm, manly dignity which in after years distinguished him in the gubernatorial chair of the State.

The school numbered about twenty scholars—boys and girls—ranging all the way from the child in his A, B, C's, to the lad and lass of seventeen, and even older.

Most of the scholars were the children of people who had recently moved in from the Eastern States; consequently they were possessed of some education when they came.

For a youth of the border, Mave Conrille was considered a pretty fair scholar, having attained to McGuffey's Third Reader, Ray's First Arithmetic, and the study of Pinneo and Mitchell. He was a youth of eighteen, though he really looked and appeared older; and some always believed he was.

Mave was in the employ of "Newbold & Carew, Land-Agents and Speculators," as a kind of an office boy and clerk. As land-agents in those days were generally regarded as "claim-jumpers," and swindlers in general, Newbold & Carew were not as highly respected by the grown people of the settlement as was consistent with a successful business. And, naturally enough, the reflections cast by the parents upon the firm, were plainly betrayed in the feelings of their children toward Mave Conrille.

It is true, the boy was not to blame for what his employers did; but then he was by nature a cross and domineering fellow among his schoolmates, and made no effort to gain the good-will and confidence of any of them, except Myrtle Gray, a blue-eyed, flaxen-haired little maiden of some sixteen summers, and the idol of every boyish heart in the school.

The first month of the school had passed with nothing to break the monotonous routine of daily study. This was unusual for a frontier school. The teacher had not been turned out by unruly boys, as was customary in those days. Mave

Conrille had suggested the idea to some of his mates, but they never could muster up courage enough to make the attempt. In fact, there was something in the face of the modest pedagogue possessed of an awesome power calculated to command fear and respect in the most obstinate and rebellious natures.

The Monday morning of the fifth week, however, promised a change in the hitherto unvarying routine of mental labor. The scholars expected some real, live fun, in the acquisition to their number, of an eccentric young genius familiarly known as Vagabond Joe, the Young Wandering Jew. He was a trapper-boy of some seventeen years of age, and was notorious for his kind, pleasant and rollicking spirit, and odd,

whimsical and inimitable expressions acquired by association with hunters and trappers.

Vagabond Joe had no particular home, but wandered about from place to place—stopping awhile at one place and then another—always welcomed and petted wherever he went, until he had finally obtained the name of Vagabond Joe, the Young Wandering Jew. This was all the name he knew anything about. If he ever had any other, he had never heard it mentioned. His parentage was a dead secret to him, that he, nor any of those interested in him, could unravel.

Joe was naturally industrious and ambitious for one situated as he was. He had, by hard work and economy, laid up a snug little sum of money from the sale of peltries. He was bright and intelligent, and evinced a disposition to rise above the level of that class to which his name might be more properly applied. All who knew him loved him; and it was not strange that the better class of people took an interest in the young vagabond's welfare. And the result of this interest was in their inducing him to attend school.

Joe was now making his home with an old hunter's family living some five miles from the settlement up the river; and as long as the skating remained good, Joe promised to be punctual in his attendance at school, for by this means he could make the trip very easily.

And so his coming was eagerly watched for by the scholars who had repaired to school earlier than usual that Monday morning. They stood upon the bluff overlooking the Des Moines with their anxious, eager eyes turned up the stream; and when at length a lithe figure glided into view around the bend of the river, a cry of mingled delight and excitement burst from their lips.

"That's him! that's him!" shouted a little, tow-headed fellow, fairly dancing with delight. "Yes, that's Joe," added another.

"What of it?" asked Mave Conrille, sullenly, as if jealous of the interest centering in Vagabond Joe. "You make as much fuss over that young vagabond's coming as though it were President Franklin Pierce."

"Well, I don't care," replied little tow-head; "Joe's a jolly good feller, and that's more than you are."

"See here; don't sass me, boy, or I'll cuff your ears like blazes," replied Mave, turning upon the boy.

"Do it, if you dare, and I'll tell the teacher; he'll make you toe the chalk-line."

Mave Conrille, enraged beyond endurance, started toward the boy, when the blue-eyed Myrtle Gray interposed, saying:



VAGABOND JOE.



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No. 12.

### Gulliver's Travels.

BY DEAN SWIFT.

#### A VOYAGE TO LILLIPUT.

##### CHAPTER I.

My father had a small estate in Nottinghamshire. I was the third of five sons. He sent me to Emanuel College in Cambridge, at fourteen years old, where I resided three years, and applied myself close to my studies; but the charge of maintaining me, although I had a very scanty allowance, being too great for a narrow fortune, I was bound apprentice to Mr. James Bates, an eminent surgeon in London, with whom I continued four years; and my father now and then sending me small sums of money, I laid them out in learning navigation, and other parts of the mathematics, useful to those who intend to travel, as I always believed it would be, some time or other, my fortune to do. When I left Mr. Bates, I went down to my father; where, by the assistance of him and my uncle John, and some other relations, I got forty pounds, and a promise of thirty pounds a year to maintain me at Leyden; there I studied physic two years and seven months, knowing it would be useful to me in long voyages.

Soon after my return from Leyden, I was recommended by my good master, Mr. Bates, to be surgeon to the Swallow, Captain Abraham Pannell, commander; with whom I continued three years and a half, making a voyage or two into the Levant, and some other parts. When I came back, I resolved to settle in London; to which Mr. Bates, my master, encouraged me, and by him I was recommended to several patients. I took part of a small house in the Old Jewry; and being advised to alter my condition, I married Mrs. Mary Burton, second daughter to Mr. Edmund Burton, hosier, in Newgate street, with whom I received four hundred pounds for a portion.

But my good master, Bates, dying in two years after, and I having few friends, my business began to fall; for my conscience would not suffer me to imitate the bad practice of too many among my brethren. Having, therefore, consulted with my wife and some of my acquaintance, I determined to go again to sea. I was surgeon successively in two ships, and made several voyages for six years, to the East and West Indies, by which I got some addition to my fortune. My hours of leisure I spent in reading the best authors, ancient and modern, being always provided with a good number of books; and when I was ashore, in observing the manners and disposition of the people, as well as learning their language; wherein I had a great facility, by the strength of my memory.

The last of these voyages not proving very fortunate, I grew weary of the sea and intended to stay at home with my wife and family; I removed from the Old Jewry to Fetter Lane, and from thence to Wapping, hoping to get business among the sailors, but it would not turn to account. After three years' expectation that things would mend, I accepted an advantageous offer from Captain William Prichard, master of the Antelope, who was making a voyage to the South Sea. We set sail from Bristol, May 4, 1699, and our voyage at first was very prosperous.

It would not be proper, for some reasons, to trouble the reader with the particulars of our adventures in those seas; let it suffice to inform him, that in our passage from thence to the East Indies, we were

driven by a violent storm to the north-west of Van Dieman's Land. By an observation, we found ourselves in the latitude of 30 degrees 2 minutes south. Twelve of our crew were dead by immoderate labor and ill food; the rest were in a very weak condition. On the 5th of November, which was the beginning of summer in those parts, the weather being very hazy, the seamen spied a rock within half a cable's length of the ship; but the wind was so strong that we were driven directly upon it, and immediately split. Six of the crew, of whom I was one, having let down the boat into the sea, made a shift to get clear of the ship and the rock. We rowed, by my computation, about three leagues, till we were able to work no longer, being already spent with labor while we were in the ship. We therefore

trusted ourselves to the mercy of the waves, and in about half an hour the boat was overset by a sudden flurry from the north. What became of my companions in the boat, as well as of those who escaped on the rock, or were left in the vessel, I cannot tell; but conclude they were all lost. For my own part, I swam as fortune directed me, and was pushed forward by wind and tide. I often let my legs drop, and could feel no bottom; but when I was almost gone, and able to struggle no longer, I found myself within my depth, and by this time the storm was much abated. The declivity was so small, that I walked near a mile before I got to the shore, which I conjectured was about eight o'clock in the evening. I then advanced forward near half a mile, but could not discover any sign of houses or inhabitants; at least, I was in so weak a condition that I did not observe them. I was extremely tired, and with that, and the heat of the weather, and about half a pint of brandy that I had drank as I left the ship, I found myself much inclined to sleep. I lay down in the grass, which was very short and soft, where I slept sounder than ever I remembered to have done in my life, and as I reckoned, about nine hours; for when I awaked, it was just daylight. I attempted to rise, but was not able to stir; for as I happened to lie on my back, I found my arms and legs were strongly fastened on each side to the ground; and my hair, which was long and thick, tied down in the same manner. I likewise felt several slender ligatures across my body, from my arm-pits to my thighs. I could only look upward, the sun began to grow hot, and the light offended my eyes. I heard a confused noise about me; but in the posture I lay, could see nothing except the sky. In a little time I felt something alive moving on my left leg, which advancing gently forward over my breast, came almost up to my chin; when, bending my eyes downward as much as I could, I perceived it to be a human creature not six inches high, with a bow and arrow in his hands, and a quiver at his back. In the meantime I felt at least forty more of the same



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